GTU Library
2400 Ridge Road
Berkeley, CA 94709
(510) 649-2500

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME II OCTOBER, 1928 NUMBER 4

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

NINE LETTERS OF CONRAD GREBEL 1519-1521
Edward Yoder

THE WORLD WAR AS REFLECTED IN BRITISH POETRY
Melvin Gingerich

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE FRENCH-SPEAKING MENNONITES
Pierre Sommer

THE MODERN CHURCH COLLEGE AND CHARACTER-BUILDING
Sanford C. Yoder

GOSHEN COLLEGE - GOSHEN, INDIANA

LIBRARY
CALIFORNIA BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Books By Mennonite Authors

MENNONITES IN THE WORLD WAR, OR NONRESISTANCE UNDER TEST. By *J. S. Hartzler.* Cloth, $1.50.

This book sets forth the peace principles of the Mennonite Church as taught at all times and practiced in time of war. It contains a narrative of events during the World War bearing on the doctrine of Nonresistance, setting forth the trials, testimonies, etc., of those whose conscience constrained them to a faithful adherence to the peace principles of the Prince of Peace.

MENNO SIMONS, HIS LIFE, LABORS, AND TEACHINGS. By *John Horsch.* Cloth, $1.25.

A work based on extensive research and a thorough knowledge of the original sources. The life and arduous labors of this great leader and hero of the faith are attractively presented. Size 6 x 8½ inches. 324 pages, with a map of the Netherlands and Northwest Germany.

MODERN RELIGIOUS LIBERALISM. By *John Horsch.* Cloth, $1.50.

A timely exposure and refutation of Modernism which has attracted wide attention. Dr. James M. Gray has the following to say concerning it in the Introduction: "This book furnishes facts. It gives the names of the men in this country who are leading the rebellion against Bible Christianity. It locates the colleges and theological seminaries they represent. It quotes their utterances as to the Bible, God, Christ, man, sin, salvation and future life, and incidentally divine and human government. It tells you where these utterances are found, gives you title, chapter and page where you can read them in their context. It is fair, clar, scholarly and bold. It is used as a text book in the Pastor's Course of the Moody Bible Institute." 28 chapters, 320 pages.

MENNONITE HANDBOOK OF INFORMATION. By *L. J. Heatwole.* Cloth, $1.25.

The book presents historical data relating to the rise and progress of the Mennonite Church in America. This work is a studied presentation of every link in the chain of events leading from the earliest beginnings up to the present day in maintaining the Articles of her Confession of Faith. 192 pages. Size 5½ x 8 inches.

THE IDEAL CHRISTIAN HOME. By *J. S. Shoemaker.* Cloth, $1.25.

An admirable discussion of the home relationships, duties and responsibilities, presenting the basic principles upon which a Christian home should be established and touching the special part of the different members of the family in making a true Christian home. Printed on buff colored paper and attractively bound in cloth. 176 pages. Size 5½ x 7½ inches. Very suitable as a gift.

MENNONITES OF AMERICA. By *C. Henry Smith.* Cloth, $2.25.

A story of the Mennonite Church as well as the Mennonite people. Tells of their early settlements, their trials with the Indians, experiences in war, the books they read, the songs they sang, their customs, doctrines and practices. 35 half-tone pictures on special paper. 500 pages.

READY SCRIPTURAL REASONS. By *Geo. R. Brunk.* Cloth, $1.25.

This book turns the Gospel light upon many questions which are asked by earnest inquirers after Gospel truth. It gives Scriptural reasons for Christian conduct and the maintaining of the principles and doctrines as believed and practiced by the Mennonite Church. Arranged in question and answer form. 216 pages. Size 5½x7½ inches.

Mennonite Publishing House - - Scottdale, Pa.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

PUBLISHED BY GOSHEN COLLEGE, GOSHEN, INDIANA
Sanford Calvin Yoder, *President*

HAROLD S. BENDER, *Editor*

Associate Editors

ERNST CORRELL JOHN UMBLE GUY F. HERSHBERGER EDWARD YODER

Editorial and Publication Office, Administration Building, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana

VOLUME II OCTOBER, 1928 NUMBER 4

EDITORIAL 225

NINE LETTERS OF CONRAD GREBEL. *Edward Yoder* . . . 229

THE WORLD WAR AS REFLECTED IN BRITISH POETRY. *Melvin Gingerich* 260

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE FRENCH-SPEAKING MENNONITES. *Pierre Sommer* 268

THE MODERN CHURCH COLLEGE AND CHARACTER-BUILDING. *Sanford C. Yoder* 275

INDEX 282

THE PRICE of the Mennonite Quarterly Review is One Dollar a year, prepaid in American Territory, in Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries add twenty five cents postage. Single copies, thirty-five cents postpaid.

REMITTANCES should be sent by draft on Chicago or New York, Money Order, or personal check (or postage for amounts less than one dollar), payable to Goshen College. Receipt of subscription is included with subscriber's address on each copy. CHANGE OF ADDRESS. For change of address give both old and new addresses.

SUBSCRIPTIONS should be sent to The Mennonite Quarterly Review, Goshen, Indiana. Entered as second-class matter February 23, 1927 at the post office at Goshen, Indiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME II OCTOBER, 1928 NUMBER 4

Editorial

RARE, INDEED, ARE THE OPPORTUNITIES TO PRESENT UNPUBLISHED AUTOgraphs of Reformation characters. The field has been so thoroughly covered, and so often, that little is left. Still rarer is the privilege of presenting such material from the pen of Anabaptist leaders. Anabaptists were seldom granted the boon of quiet hours for meditation and literary composition, and still less the privilege of presenting their literary product or correspondence to public archives for preservation. The known literary remains of the earliest Anabaptist leaders are almost negligible. Practically the only extant material of this sort is the letters of Conrad Grebel, the first leader of the Anabaptist movement in Zurich, who died in 1526. Most of his letters were published in the publications of the Historical Society of St. Gall, Switzerland, thirty years ago. However, a few letters, nine in number, have remained unpublished in the Staatsarchiv at Zurich, Switzerland. The REVIEW presents in this issue the original Latin text of these letters, together with a careful English version, and critical notes to both texts. The Latin text was transcribed directly from photostats of the original manuscripts with extreme care. Those who know what this means in the way of transcribing and translating medieval Latin texts, will appreciate the scholarship and diligence expended in the effort. The entire material is the work of Edward Yoder, Ph. D., for two years Professor of Classics at Goshen College, now Vice-President and Professor of Classics at Hesston College. Dr. Yoder bewails the fact that there is so little reference to contemporary life and letters in Grebel's correspondence, that his pages are full of endless cogitations and comment about his own situations, often superficial at that. We should indeed desire more of the other, but may understand the lack if we remember that Grebel at this time was but a typical young, irresponsible student of scarcely twenty-one, into

whose life had not yet come the deeper experiences of maturity. One marvels that this person so soon, in three years, became the devoted, self-sacrificing, courageous martyr-leader of a despised and hunted group of pietists, born out of time in a harsh age. What but the grace of God can make a Simon into a Peter!

The one additional unpublished letter of Grebel will appear in an early number of the REVIEW.

POETS SHOULD BE SEERS, NOT BECAUSE THEY ARE SAGES, BUT BECAUSE they are in tune with the hidden forces that pulse and throb in our common life, because they live deeply, and more deeply than their fellows. What did the poets "see" as they "lived" the World War? A contact wtih the poetry of the western world which was the fruit of the World War, reveals none who "saw" and lived more deeply than the younger British War Poets. In comparison with them the slight American war poetry seems superficial, and the German product, heavy with blood and tears. What Melvin Gingerich presents in his discussion of *The World War as Reflected in British Poetry*", is not a full-length critical study of the British War-Poets, but rather a fresh, vivid sketch, that catches the main current and mirrors it in finely selected beautiful lines. The important observation is the change of attitude on the part of the poets as they really began to live war as it was. Their final message is one that cannot be mistaken, and will be doubly welcome as a reinforcement to those who find in war the ultimate human sin, the completest re-crucifixion of the Saviour of the World and His Love. It is a message that is sorely needed now, in a day when the first shudder at the recollections of the war and its crime is fading out, and the old romantic apotheosis is coming back into current literature and discussion.

THE WEAKEST SECTOR OF THE FAR-FLUNG LINE OF MENNONITES around the world is undoubtedly that held by the French-speaking Mennonites, Russia not excepted. Their situation, as revealed by Pierre Sommer in his challenging article, *The Present Situation of the French-Speaking Mennonites* is one that calls for loving sympathy and brotherly assistance, rather than condemnation. The French-speaking Mennonites are so few in number, so weak in leadership, so scattered, so enfeebled that even to Pierre Sommer's faith, the prospect is uncertain. It is peculiarly fitting that this discussion should come at this time, when American Mennonites have begun to discharge their obligation toward their French brethren.

For over a year, the Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities has undertaken the support of Pierre Sommer in his work as traveling evangelist, with the devout hope that once more new life may be infused in the dying body, and that the future may see a restored and active French Mennonitism.

THE MAINTENANCE OF CHRISTIAN IDEALS AND OBJECTIVES AND THEIR efficient realization in the modern educational world is no easy task. Yet it must be accomplished at all costs. In a world hostile to the Christian faith in many ways, in a world that has become increasingly secularized—in this world President Yoder of Goshen College insists that the Church must renew her vision of her duty and opportunity and gird herself afresh for the accomplishment of her great program through education. His address, *The Modern Church College and Character-Building*, delivered to student body and faculty at Goshen College, deserves the thoughtful attention of all who are stirred by the needs of today and the duty of Christians in the light of these needs.

THE "STORY OF THE HUTTERIANS", BY JOHN HORSCH, AND "JOHANNES Nafziger's Letter", by Ernst Correll, will be continued in the January number of the REVIEW. A number of other interesting and important discussions are in store for this number.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

EDWARD YODER, Ph. D., Vice President and Professor of Classics, Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas.

MELVIN GINGERICH, Instructor in Washington (Iowa) High School.

PIERRE SOMMER, Bishop of the Mennonite Church at Montbeliard, France, and Traveling Evangelist of the French Mennonite Conference.

SANFORD C. YODER, President of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana.

THEREFORE WE BEG AND ADMONISH THEE as a brother by the name, the power, the word, the spirit, and the salvation, which has come to all Christians through Jesus Christ our Master and Saviour, that thou wilt take earnest heed to preach only the divine word without fear, to set up and guard only divine institutions, to esteem as good and right only what may be found in pure and clear Scripture, to reject, hate, and curse all devices, words, customs, and opinions of men, including thine own.

—*Conrad Grebel, 1524.*

Nine Letters of Conrad Grebel

Edited with a Translation and Notes by Edward Yoder.

I. Introduction.

The nine letters of Conrad Grebel which are presented here apparently have not been published before and hence are not readily accessible. The autographs of these letters are today in the Staatsarchiv in Zurich, Switzerland. They are all addressed to the same individual, Oswald Myconius, and they constitute the largest group of Grebel's letters that has not been published to this time. Most of his other extant letters are accessible in the *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* Volumes II, III, by E. Arbenz (*St. Galler Mitteilungen zur vaterlaendischen Geschichte,* XXV 2, XXVII 1. St. Gallen 1894, 1897) and *Zwinglis Briefwechsel* (*Huldreich Zwinglis Saemtliche Werke,* Volume VII, 1911), by E. Egli.

These nine letters, which date from the three years, 1519-1521, fall into two unequal groups. The first eight follow each other at irregular intervals over a period of eighteen months, from January, 1519, to July, 1520, and they cover almost the entire time of Grebel's stay as a student in Paris, whither he had gone in October of 1518, together with the first month after his return home to Zurich in July of 1520. Practically all our knowledge of Grebel's student years at Paris comes from the first six letters printed here and from six others which he wrote to Vadian from Paris. The last letter, No. 9, is quite isolated. It is dated nearly sixteen months later than the last letter of the first group.

The recipient of these letters, Oswald Myconius (originally Geisshuesler or Mueller), a native of Luzern, was after Vadian and Glarean one of the foremost humanistic teachers of Switzerland. His friendship with Grebel may date from the time that Myconius served as schoolmaster at the Grossmuenster in Zurich (1516-1519). Before this Myconius had studied and taught at Basel (1510-1516) and through his friend Glarean he had been admitted to the circle of admirers which was gathered about the great scholar Erasmus. He was a capable and conscientious instructor in Latin and attained a notable reputation by his success in preparing students for study at the universities. With a broad culture he united an understanding heart and a ready sympathy. From Grebel's letters it seems that Myconius took a more active and sympathetic interest in Grebel during his troublous years in Paris than did his parents and Vadian, who

as Grebel imagined had quite forsaken him as he was being cast back and forth between the horrors of Scylla and Charybdis. Fuller biographical notes on Myconius with references are to be found in *Zw. Werke*, Vol. VII, page 101, note 1.

In style and general tone the letters to Myconius are typical of all Grebel's letters. Compared, however, with those which he wrote to Vadian during the same period, these letters to Myconius are shorter in average length, slightly more straightforward in expression, are less wordy and less padded with artificial rhetoric. In parts of the longer letters (*e. g.*, Nos. 4, 5), when he is writing under emotional stress, Grebel occasionally becomes obscure in expression and careless with his Latin. The exaggeration and overstatement which he used belong to the epistolary conventions of the time. All his letters are highly subjective and contain only the most casual references to contemporary events outside of his immediate interest. His style he decorates freely with proverbial expressions and allusions to classical mythology and literature, showing that he was well at home with the ancient classics for which the humanists ever felt a keen enthusiasm. The conspicuous tone of self-pity and of gloomy pessimism in some of the letters may be partly an affectation on the writer's part. But it also reveals a fundamental side of his nature, for there can be no doubt that Grebel was involved in some very serious difficulties during his sojourn in France. Yet he might have earned our lasting gratitude if he had taken less pains to emphasize the outrages which he suffered at the hands of that redoubtable mistress Fortune and had found time instead to write some details about his studies and his intellectual interests during these student years.

In the Latin text of the letters the orthography of the autographs is reproduced almost without change. The paragraphing of the originals has also been accurately preserved. The punctuation and the use of capital letters have been changed to conform more nearly to modern usage, since little regularity was apparent in the originals in these matters. The notes to the English translation have been made as brief as seemed consistent with an intelligent understanding of the letters by the general reader, frequent references being added for the convenience of those interested in the sources.

This reproduction of the letters is made possible by the use of photographs of the originals, which are in the possession of the Mennonite Historical Society of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana. Thanks are also due to Professors Ernst Correll and Harold S. Bender of Goshen College for the free use of material and notes collected by them for an exhaustive biography of Conrad Grebel which is in the course of preparation.

II. The Latin Text

Acknowledgement

Access to the letters of Conrad Grebel, Myconius and Glarean was made possible by the friendly assistance and courtesy of Professor Dr. Hans Nabholz, head of the Staatsarchiv, Zurich, Switzerland. Dr. Nabholz in his letters to Dr. Ernst Correll of August 19, 1925, and October 26th, 1925, reported the intensive investigation he had undertaken to guarantee that all of the relevant correspondence deposited in Zurich has been examined and made available. Dr. Nabholz also examined the manuscripts of the Zentralbibliothek of Zurich (Vereinigte Kantons-und Stadtbibliothek).

With the kind, efficient assistance of Dr. Schiess, curator of the Vadiana Collection, St. Gall, Switzerland, Dr. Correll examined the Vadiana correspondence in the summer of 1926. No new material was uncovered by these efforts.

There is, however, the possibility of the existence of Grebel-Myconius-Glarean letters in the Archives of Paris.

1. Paris. January 30, 1519.

Salve mi Osalde. Cum Valentinus Scudus paternos lares revisurus esset, dubitabam cum multis scriberem, an ad te quoque aliquid litterarum dandum esset, non quod meae soleant elegantes esse et ob id iucundae, nec quod putem tuam conditionem[1] ex meis epistolis pendere, sed quod id velle videreris cum me discessurum ad hoc promissis meis compelleres ne quoties possem tibi non scriberem. Hunc animum tuum ne mutaveris vereor, mutaveris autem ob Glareanum, virum inquam extra iudicii mei[2] meique similium aleam positum praeceptorem meum apprime dilectum. Quem ego cum ab eo discessi tam offenderim quantum alius[3] unquam, facile mihi persuadeo eam rem te non latere et forte non minus egreferre quam illum a quo discesserim, cum illi me commendaveris teque illi tanto amore devinxeris, ut Glareanum non temere quisquiam offendat,[4] nisi[5] idem[6] te quoque minus amiciorem fecerit. Cum ergo id mecum perpenderem, duosque in uno adversus me excitasse timerem, vix ausus fui ad te litterulas meas dare. Deinde quoque non promptus sum in scribendis epistolis aut tam foelicis ingenii ut sine longa mora et rubore, cum timeam semper ne risus tibi materiam obiiciam, id prestare possim quod multi adolescentes non cunctanter et erudite exhibent. Cum[7] rursus tuum in me amorem meumque in te item et observationem pactumque quo tecum discessurus conveni, cavique ne rudes chartas Ialemi cantione (ut aiunt) frigidiores meritis[8] cachinnis aut digno fastidio exciperes, animo repeterem,[9] audacem faciebat[10] amor et pactum, atque adeo audacem ut

has naenias tibi mittere non verecundarer. Accipe et excipe, utraque manu et obviis ulnis epistolam, admirare, extolle laudibus, Ciceronianam esse dic, et ea te gaudiis temulentum fac, Conradi mei est inques haec undecunque erudita et lepida chartula. Nunc ad aliud propero si queris ubi habitem? cum quibus. Apud Calchographum civem perhonestum moror mecum est Ioannes Henricus Eleutherius Tigurinus qui a Glareano priusquam ego discessit. Probapolitanus quidam et quartus famulus. Quid studeam non vacat referre. Cati Pontani plane[11] heroicum opus de Helvetiorum fuga tibi misi non quod dignum sit auribus tuis, sed ut videas caecum caece scripsisse. Coniugem tuam tuosque nomine meo et I. Henrici Eleutherii salutato. Vale viveque foelicissime. Ex Lutecia Parrhisiorum. III Kal. Febr. anno a virginea partu M D XVIIII.

Conradus tuus.

Congratulor D. meo Hulderico Zinlio quod in patria urbe Parochus pronunciatus sit. Congratulor patriae quod talem nacta sit. Rescribe si me amas.

EI. 1, Nr. 28, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.

1. Followed by *tua* crossed out. 2. Altered from *meum*. 3. Followed by *a* crossed out. 4. Altered from *offenderit*. 5. Written in margin with omission sign. 6. An added *que* is crossed out. 7. Followed by *rus* crossed out. 8. Altered from *meritas*. 9. Altered from *repeto*. 10. Altered from *facit*. 11. There is an abbreviation mark as if for *planem*.

2. Paris. (June 9, 1519)

Si aliquando ad te non scripsi, crede non mea[1] sed aliorum culpa factum esse. Crede, inquam, ideo non scribere cum non scribo, quod nequeam. Casum in quem ego misere incidi, Johannus Jacobus tibi forsitan retexit. Ille non potuit mihi citius nunciare, quod discessurus esset, cum in alia urbe ultra Sequanam pacis gratia morarer, nec praeviderat[2] idem tam festinum abitum, nec ego cum nunciaret litteris scribendis occupare me debui, propterea quod aulam secuturus eram cum aliquot studentibus, ut graciam impetraremus. Quid illud sit qualisque casus meus non vacat ut recitem; si nescis, malim ex parente meo discas. Demiror cur nullas a Clivano litteras habeam, cum illi pene post meum a[3] Vienna abitum decies scripserim. Partes eius erant, ut me de libris meis aut combustis aut relictis aut in patriam advectis certiorem redderet. Libros quos habes a Clivano allatos, alium habere nolim. Cum his quid fieri velim, proximis litteris aut cum ipse forte rediero indicabo. De Valerio, et Juvenale nihil remitto[4]; librarii enim in universitate sunt, hoc est, in alia urbe; feci quantum potui; curavi ut illa tibi quae litteras exhibuit, eosdem quos petis libros emeret et adferret. Quid futurum sit, dubito; si nihil prestitit, ipse mittam. Quod facis eo animo accipio quo tu facis. Quod a Tigurino senatu nihil meriti muneris receperis, mihi vehementer dolet. Ita[5] me incerta mansio, ingentia mala, animus afflictus, et negocia inextricabilia urgent, ut nesciam quo me vertam, quid faciam, quid timeam speremve, quos hominum deorumve[6] invocem. Quare non est quo pacto non litteras illitteras, sed laceras et barbaras fortunaeque meae[7]

admodum similes nauci facias. Tuos omnes resaluto; Johannem Jacobum nomine meo, si a Tiguro nondum solvit, ut salutes oro. Vale. Die Iovis Penthecosten praecedente. Lutecie, ex latronum, ex sordium illa mihi infortunatissima sentina.

Si nihil respondero provisori tuo, me excusa et hominem ora, ut negociis meis adscribat, nec me diffidat. Scripturus enim sum aliter quam ipse, facturus quoque longe rectius.

Ms. F82, fol. 476 (Thesaurus Hottingerianus t. 47). Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.

1. Altered from *meam*. 2. Followed by *ille* crossed out. 3. Altered from *ab*. 4. In the margin with omission sign. 5. Followed by *di* crossed out. 6. *ve* is added above the line. 7. Altered from *meam* (?).

3. Paris. July 18, 1519.

Salve charissime immo clarissime Miconi. Is est meus erga te animus: tam benevolus per deos, ut tecum saepissime per litteras, quando id aliter non fieri possit, loqui cupiam; ac plane gestiam ubi se nuncius obtulerit quo deferente meas ad te Naenias tu saepicule cogaris cicadam, ut aiunt, ala corripere. Quare factum est ut nec hoc tempore quidem quo mihi fortuna plusquam noverca existens, tantum non plusquam laqueum mandavit, tacere potuerim.

De quibus saepe numero locuti sumus, latrones si ex civitate tantum solitudinem facerent inculpandi essent. Verum quod aedes nostras oppugnant, quod non tute rem sacram aliquoties agere, hoc est festis diebus templa visere, negocia pernecessaria expedire, illis impune pro dolor impedientibus tunc cum vitae uniuscuiusque insidiantur, liceat, ea demum res est mihi intollerabilis nec minus detestabilis. Deinde intollerabilior longe lateque alia est, quae sine delectu nemini parcere novit, quaeque nuper hominum numerum minorem reddere aggressa est, pestis. Haec apud nos sevire occepit, et ego si scires quam varia consilia ceperim, Prothea[1] diceres esse; ex quibus omnibus uno utar, illud tale est. Aiunt ita pestem posse vitari, si locum fugiat quispiam ubi ea debachetur; id igitur et ipse facere constitui. Sequana duce ad decimum ab urbe lapidem me recipiam; comites erunt qui idem periculi genus declinare nituntur. Ad haec dubia valetudine laboro, adeo autem ut potius certo morbo non etiam certa peste affici malim. Parva haec mala et utcunque corroborato animo ferenda essent, nisi mihi illud Didonis Vergilianae "Nusquam tuta fides" vero verius dictum esse videretur. Iterum atque iterum[2] haec nihil essent, si conqueri, si satis lugere mea illa acerrima et Lemnia mala absque aliquorum ob unum aut alterum factum exortis cachinnis liceret. Nolim his diutius immorari; aliud est quod te iam scire velim.

Desydero unicum hoc, ut quod reliquum est dum vivam temporis in apprehendendis bonis litteris terere contingat. Id ubi facilius auspicari possim quam in Italia, quo comite quam Johanne Jacobo melius, modo is me non respuat, nescio. Vellem nostrorum parentum de nobis decreta experiri conareris, sed maxime Johannis Jacobi, quem ego si non amo; nemo me amet nec homines nec dii. Si ille paria facit, nemo

erit inter nos divortium facturus Eurymnus, eritque[3] mihi ipsique ege in Italiam nusquam non fidus Achates.

Litteras prolixiores[4] ea ratione cum his misi, ut perspiceres tabellarii culpa, non mea factum quod ad te non pervenerint citius. Vtramque[5] chartulam, sed si mavis omnes, tibi scribunt; nollem eas ab aliis legi. Apud te alia loquor quam ad alium. Libros quos postularas habere atque iis iam uti te credo; si quid aliud praeterea desyderas, nutu iube; facultatem non adime; factumque scripto citius habe. Tuus sum ita me dii ament atque utinam ita me amarent ut dignius esse possem. Vale felicissime. Tuam coniugem tuosque nomine meo salutato. Ex Lutecia. XV Kalendas Augusti, Anno Salutis M DXVIIII.

Iodocus Mauroticheus te plurimum nomine suo saluere iussit, sed mavult ille Melanticheus dici.

(*Outside address*: Miconio suo Grebelius)

EI. 1, Nr. 27, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.

1. Followed by *d* crossed out. 2. Followed by *que* crossed out. 3. Followed by *ille* crossed out. 4. Followed by *hisce* crossed out. 5. Altered from *utrasque*.

4. Paris. January 14, 1520.

S. Litteras quas nugivendae ad me dedisti omnes accepi; illa enim lucelli gratia omnes perfert. Quid velles denique cognovi ex illis omnibus. De libellis a Pannonia primum, deinde e Gallia ad te missis quid statuerim queris. Tuos esse iussi et nunc iubeo, ut recte scripseris illis ipsis non secus ac tuis uti. Quid sit quod auditurus sim postquam super hoc, responsionem reddidero. Fac sciam brevi; non potero aliud velle quam tu voles, et non exequi quicquid iussus, rogatus monitusve fuero. Hactenus quid primum postremumve loquendo tecum per has facerem facile dispexi. Nunc quo me Fortunae laqueo tantumnon strangulatus vertam, laqueo inquam, quem tam pertinaciter illa minata est ut pene tandem iniecerit, non dubito sed hereo. Ingentes narras tragoedias et quae in hoc miserum caput cuduntur fabas. Pater (hoc enim ex matre audiisti) dolet, irascitur, timet; quod pecuniam seductoribus mutuarim prodegerimque, tempus irrecuperabile perdiderim, quod ad Guilielmum non migraverim, hoc est quod Fortuna mihi novercetur, ob hoc nescis an magis doleat an irascatur necne. Timet ne gravius malum incolumem iam factum impetat. Iussus est me evocare, quod pestis grassatur, quod stomachatus, quod insomnes noctes ducit honestatis limites egressum formidans. Nec Vadiani nec tuis precibus placatur. Ne doleat, ne quod dixisti faciat per litteras suadeo, utinam persuadeam. Pecuniae minimam partem ut vix unciam seductores devorarunt; maximam magna temporis iactura Fortunae (in quam ego non pauca reiici velim) barathrum exhausit. Ad Guilielmum non migravi; nec ipse iussit nec mihi licuit denique illi non placuisset forsitan. Diceres idem si paternas litteras legisses, si sortis meae Luteciae conditionem novisses. Quare cur in hoc obediens patri non fuerim non temere patet. Gravius malum

non timendum, quippe cum nil furatus sim, latrocinia non exercuerim, nihil Italicum fecerim, nihil denique quod improbitatem oleat perpetrarim; non video qui mihi Gallicum laqueum paret, nisi fors hoc Fortuna iterum mali struat, quam ego iandudum tortoris vice ferre cogor. Quodsi nec hinc malum nos manere expavescit, unde quaeso tandem quale[1] et cur expavescit? Evocet (sed ut furiae me interim agant exagitentque), si non e[2] Scylla in Charibdim, e peste in pestem evocabit, non poterit citius evocatum iracundia et peste terrere, domo prohibere, quam pecuniam mittat, hyems praetereat. Endymionem dormiat si volet; nihil enim hoc mea facta impediunt. Qui contra luctabitur, hunc ego nihil ex me pendere coactus morabor, pene aliud dixissem. Si nullis precibus reconciliari potest, si generi, amici, nati[3] supplicationibus Toronoei portus est, si non familia venientem primum inhospitali ira excipiet, quid faciam? Hominem agam, modo Fortunae oppedentem et calamitatibus iubentibus mox illius diris furiis cedentem, affectus moresque consuetae Tragoediae persona habebo.

Perturbant haec animulum tot malis fessum, id quod tu prius prospexeras et[4] ne in tristius periculum imprudens laberer praemonere statuisti; habes hoc Myconii ut semper. Gratias debeo, non etiam refero. Boni consule quod habeo immortales. Vtere et abutere homuntione[5] hoc, si quando ita fors feret.[6] Tuus est tuis meritis oppressus. De patre nec minus de te quantum satis et nauseam nimirum bilem quoque alii moveret blateravi. Matris te consulente animus est ut hic tutius, si possim, donec paterna bilis resideat et turmatim moriri Myrmidones desinatis maneam. Vt et hic garrire abstineam, meum esse ais parentum et amici animo retecto quod optimum[7] crediturus sim facere, ita tamen ne plaebiscita mea vos lateant, id item vult mater. Ego vero quid optimum sit quomodo dispiciam, cui ne boni quidem capillis apprehendenda occasio advolet. Sed utrobique immo ubique Euripus fortuna, nos infamis digiti calamitatibus vexaturam promittit, hic mansurum pestis[8] vere redituro et[9] latronum formidine caeterorum, demum quae fatales sorores interim texent inscitia exanimabit; aut in patria domo patris exulaturum eadem peste et ira parentis ne malis quidem hisce illachrymabilis enecabit. Nunquid dicis me inter sacrum et saxum stantem lupum auribus tenere? Nihil ergo decerno, nihil nisi consul meus me iubeat populus faciam, Fortunae patrisque pedibus trahendum praebebo. Phrygium quem ut Phrygium non tantum Tigurinum utinam nunquam cognovissem; periit ille a nullo evocatus, Manes adiit meo aere gravatus; si nusquam nec hic stipendio nec domi materno censu solvendo est, quidquid debet[10] illius animae condonabo; interim nihil neglecturus sum egens corradere queam aliquid. Deum ubiubi ille post finem malorum manet clementiorem meritis sentiat. Lucernam abisti ut illic ex animi tui sententia omnia eveniant, ut pestem cum tuis declines oro. Desydero tua consuetudine frui; utinam doctrina tibi olim non nihil similis digne possem. Vale perquam foelicissime. D. Icannem Xilotectum, virum ut perdoctum ita et perhumanum, coniugem tuam quoties ipsa nunquam posset, ne dicam millies, cum vernis tuis nomine meo salutabis. Vale iterum, meum in his malis solamen. Luteciae, ex officina nostra

Tortoria, utinam litteratoria. Decima quarta die Ianuarii anni a virgineo partu supra M D vigesimi.

Conradus Grebelius Tigurinus tuus ille misellus amiculus.

Epitaphium tanquam morituro in prioribus litteris te nobis ponere iussi. Quod si posuisti, muta (ut nihil peccaris) inscriptionem sitque epicedion.

Clivani silentium, nisi apud silentes Manes aut apud Pythagoricos[11] loqui nihil loquendo discat, immodestissime fero. Scripsi sexcenties, nihil recepi. Ita se gerit ille ut non respondeat; ego vero non obtundam amplius saepe petendo chartas. Sed scribat postremo monitus et a me Iliadem accipiet, qua si non satiabitur immodicus lector, superaddam[12] et vagum Ulyssem.

Hoc pene praetermiseram: Tigurum eant aut in alium quempiam locum a patre habitatum hae litterae. Qui sint illi patri consulentes tam prudenter, si certiorem reddideris, facies rem omnium gratissimam, vel quare suspiceris id ab istis fieri.

Ms. F80 fol. 604 (Thesaurus Hottingerianus t. 45) Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.

1. In the margin to replace *quid* crossed out in the line. 2. Altered from *est*. 3. Altered from *natis*. 4. Followed by *me* crossed out. 5. Carried in the margin to replace same word blotted and crossed out in the line. 6. Altered from *fert*. 7. Followed by *sit* crossed out. 8. Altered from *peste*. 9. Followed by a word crossed out. 10. Followed by *co* crossed out. 11. Written before *apud* but with marks indicating transposition. 12. Altered from *supperaddam*.

5. Paris. March 7, 1520.

Salvum te esse iubeo amicorum omnium mihi[1] maxime necessarium. Quanto commodo, ne dicam voluptate, litteras tuas lectitaverim, id tam inenumerabile est quam ego, ut mox a principio querulus sim, miser existo. Ostendis animum paternum; ostendis maternum atque Vadianicum, qui si filio illinc, hinc sororio usquam apparent vel per umbram vel somnium, omnes deos deasque (quod[2] agit dudum bona pars hominum) infestos nullisque sacrorum piaminibus reconciliabiles habeam. Nisi certe sic apparere dixeris; si illi me nunciumque rident et tunc tandem destituunt in tantis calamitatibus cum magnopere adiuvandus[3] et ex his fluctibus quibus tandiu iactor liberandus eram. Qui quidem ut suum scilicet officium non negligerent, nec scripserunt, hoc enim non poterant, sed nec rescripserunt cum per ocium volumina ad me possent excudere, nihil sperare iusserunt[4], longumque flere alioqui lugenti etiam renuntiarunt. Pecuniam in quam si[5] velim[6] involare possem non video, et audent illi, hoc tantum, per nuncium respondere me non ignorare unde pecunia mutuanda, si[7] ita opus[8] foret. Quibus nominibus parentum, quibus Vadiani pectora leserim, id mihi obscurissimum est. Supplico tamen et toties genua advolutus prehendo, ut dum nihil consequor repulsaque votorum nota, interim vel hostes diros[9] facile tantis precibus in gratiam retraxissem. Si perstant illi, facient male cepto more. Ego quo evadam, quem[10] acturus sim hominem intra tamen honestatis limites, nondum dispexi. Utinam fas esset naufragio

ex hac Scylla in aliam Charybdim eiici iniicique, aut utranque propiciis diis littore expositum vitare. Si no licet, et per Deum Opt. M. non licet. Fortunae me obiicio et diis vexandum dum furor in vita defunctum deseviat. Et commode hic pestis nondum finitam priori autumno stragem Martio mense redintegrare cepit. Mortem ego non deprecor; deprecor intempestivam; precor finem malorum ipse finiendus. Precantur idem mihi amici non amici. Iubent tempora ut precer cum multis aliis et oculis opponunt, quod nulla ratione vitam prorogare precibus debeam. Nihil itaque deest hoc tempore quod me non possit nolitque consumere. Si ad vos redeo vivus, Nestorem vixi et Pythagorica ratione etiam corpore renascar. Iam ad aliud, et si re vix aliud est ditius ad quod abstrahi possim, diverto. Gratum te pro missis libellis significas; ego nec expectavi nec ob id misi, sed ut me tibi gratificaturum esse intelligeres, hoc namque tua merita suadent, quotiescunsque facultas demerendi incideret. Tuum est mea opera quanta quanta esse posset tunc totiesque abuti[11] cum quotiesque non abuteris. Asconium Pedianum promissum sic desyderas ut amico nullo piaculo non misissem, si ille in publicum exisset impressus, si pecuniam qua coemissem, tam pauper ut vix victum inde habeam, corradere potuissem. Cur non missus sit habes. Quomodo mittendus sit priusquam divulgatus fuerit nisi mittas pro illo quod compensandum sit, non conspicio. Illiberalem facit parca, immo exhausta, crumena, et tempora depauperant et calamitates dementant. Tu boni consules hunc animum, et quid utrique expectandum agendumve monebis. Libri sunt hic minimis prostantes et egregii et Aldini atque ii in utraque litteratura. Ligantur hic duo viliori precio et ad hoc melius pulchriusque quam uspiam extra Galliam. Quos inter tot optes nescio; si ut ad te perveniant quaeris aliqui, adde pecuniam et ego quam solum (?) operam exhibere iubeor exhibebo. Si graecaris, id enim soles, Homerum, poetis te oblectans, diliges reor; is deauratus belleque compactus non duobus scutatis venditur. De Conrado quod scribis accepi. Sumus amici, si unquam vere disiuncti animo locoque non[12] fuimus. Haec alias. Suades reditum; id non minus integrum mihi tam naufrago est quam hic manere. Utrunque latens periculum fovet. Decrevi hoc saltem; socios sequi[13] ad Melodunum fugituros pestis gratia, non tam ob eandem causam quam ob auxilium eorum unde pendeo. Si fata et illic me assequentur, id omne in parentem transferam qui causa sit quod non potuerim effugere dum me sic sic deficiens ab animo paterno pro sceleribus tantis filii non evocat. Tuos, hoc est, uxorem, filium, adulescentesque studiorum cultores nomine meo resalutato. Vale. Lutecie. Nonis Martii. Anno M D XX.

Conradus tuus Grebelius, etc.

(*Outside Address*: Viro bonarum litterarum omnium perdocto humanoque patrono, Osaldo Miconio, amico cum primis observando.)

EI. 1, Nr. 32, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.

1. Altered from *michi*. 2. Written above several letters crossed out. 3. Followed by *eram* (?) crossed out. 4. A short *s* crossed out is followed by tall *ss*. 5. Followed by two words heavily crossed out. 6. Followed by *possem* (?)

crossed out 7. Altered from *sit* (?). 8. Followed by *ita* crossed out. 9. Followed by certain letters crossed out. 10. Altered from *quenda*. 11. In the margin with sign of omission. 12. Added above the line. 13. Altered from *secutum*.

6. Paris. April 13, 1520.

Salve meum decus et praesidium, Osalde. Cum Glareanus hinc solveret et vix paternas litteras exarassem, accidit quiddam vel ob id quoque, quod non longioribus tecum agere liceret, maxime incommodum. Id tamen aut divina ope aut medicorum adiutrice cura mox a me unde venit redibit. Tu nihil anxius sis ob hac, si me amas. Sed anxius eris; nolo tamen ut quicquam meum te lateat. Et quoniam non cessas unquam ad me tam amice scribere, tam oportune, et tunc nempe cum meae animae[1] mea praesidia parens et Vadianus me negligunt, scribam ad te sponte, etiam cum fuero ad litteras componendas iniqua valetudine non satis idoneus. Tuus sum, si[2] sinis, si tu meus es et si non esses. Asconii Pe. copia ob impressores et inopiam meam nondum facta est[3], nec mea culpa est quod desyderio tuo non satisfiat. D. I. Xilotectum, familiam tuam omnem millies, Conradum quoque meum nomine meo salutabis. Vale foeliciter. Luteciae, 13 Aprilis, anno 1520.

Conradus Grebelius, tuus amiculus, tui omnium amantissimus.

Responde priori quam anus illa conspicilliorum nimirum attulit et huic sic enim facies.

Ego fluctuo et e Scyllis in Charybdes iactor, naufragium ne propius sit quam portus timeo. Deos invoco, inter spem et timorem haereo, dum aut liberer aut malis corruam fluctibus[4].

Ms. F80, fol. 603, Zentralbibliothek, Zurich.

1. Due to a blot the words cannot be very well made out, and *meae animae* is partly a conjecture. 2. Added above the line. 3. *facta est* is written above *misi* crossed out. 4. To the left of this postscript, in another hand, is written: *Greb. incert et fluctuatum* . . . . (? ?).

7. Zurich. July 6, 1520.

Salve, mi Osalde. Literas tuas cum duobus diebus a Lutecia iam abfuissem Publicola noster in itinere (obvii enim facti cum Glareano nonnulli iuvenes nobis inciderunt) commode reddidit[1]. Gavisus sum his litteris cum mox recluderem[2] legeremque quam qui maxime quamque vix credis forsitan aut credis si me noscis intus. Noscis autem me hominem esse tui tuarumque litterarum semper perquam cupidissimum[3]. Credis itaque et ob id nunquam non scribis atque nunquam non miris gaudiis a meipso me tristi et afflicto malis ad explicandam frontem revocas. Facisque strennue quod Vadianus strenue negligit. Quamvis magnanimus esse iam didicerim et tam minuta nihili facere, nolim tamen et te eius exemplo olim obmutescere. Sed ingenue fateor id nunquam a te expectasse nec expectaturum unquam. De Glareano is cum me salutasset dixit se casu equi a quo pressus esset non admodum bene habere velleque biduo quiescere et vires reparare priusquam Luteciam adiret licet illa duorum

dierum itinere fessis etiam equitibus attingi potuisset. Asconium nomine tuo emi ligarique curavi haud ineleganter qualis est iam compactus dimidio aureo distractus[4] est. De me, quid acturus sit mecum pater, magis ex te quam illo auguror. Quicquid erit tu quoque scies. Quod mihi semper scribas, nescis quam tibi devinctum facias. Ne desinas oro nec ego quoque supersedebo. Sed agamus lubentius potiusque pro nostro veteri laudatissimo more. D. Xilotectum ex animo ut virum humanum eruditumque nimis, tum tuam coniugem, filium, Conradumque nostrum saluere iubeo. Vale[5], mi Osalde, viveque cum tuis quam foelicissime. II Nonas Iulii, anno M D XX. Tiguri.

Conradus Grebelius tuus, si malis, frater.
Si quemquam vero digne veneramur amore,
Non sim, si prima cedere sede potes.
Sunt tria quae stabilem te nobis semper amicum
Contineant; pietas officiosa nimis,
Candor inexhaustus et littera saepe salutem
Quae mihi, quae maesto gaudia mille refert,
Haec ego non etiam doctrinae munera dixi[6]
Inter nos certam conciliasse fidem,
Quam tamen admiror, sed quos praecinxit Apollo
Saepe parum gratis moribus esse solent.

Ignosce numeris si claudicant, sic cucurrere ut verear ne pedes offenderint ad inelegantem aliquam saxorum asperitatem.

EI. 1, Nr. 34, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.

1. Altered from *reddit*. 2. Written *resc.*. with *s* crossed out. 3. Altered from *cupidissimus*. 4. *distraltus* (?). 5. Followed by *Vi* crossed out. 6. Altered from *dixit*.

8. Zurich. July 25, 1520.

S. Litteras tuas non ob id tantum, quod recepto in patriam gratulatus sis, sed maxime ob eam veterem atque iterum indicatam amicitiam, mirum quanto gaudio acceperim. Quod me ames non vulgari more iamdudum mihi persuasum est, quippe qui parentem indignantem mihi tam belle placaveris et intercessione sedula propitium reddideris. Denique sic hominem inelegantem nihilque tui similem doctrinae splendore foveris. Itaque testari amorem non potes nisi malis testatiorem sponte facere. Qui quoties id facis toties mihi mea somnia indicare et meos ungues digitosque numerare videris. Vides non enixim tibi laborandum esse ut qualis in me sis dispiciam, et facile est iam apud persuasum quod velis exorare. Iam ego de mea vicissim in te fide nihil repetam nimis. Hoc audi et scito tantum: post[1] parentes, quibus summus charitatis gradus debetur, mihi vix[2] unum aut alterum numerabo[3] quos te vehementius observem quibusque magis me devinctum deditumque esse et sciam velim, quibus, inquam, quoties facultas et industria sinunt, studiosius et fidelius quam tibi gratum facere enitar. Haec alias. Conventus

Helvetiorum apud vos futurus iam me provocarat ut, si parens[4] mittendus fuisset in legatione, non dubitassem Lucernam adire illi comes nihil illic quesiturus aut admiraturus quam meum Osaldum cum suis cumque D. meo Iohanne Xilotecto, quos ego sic doctos, sic humanos et, quod magni facio, sic mei amantes etiam si nunquam pater eo venturus aliquando visurus sim. Sed tunc fortasse cum me Fortuna prospere a Vadiano me remittet. Interim dum expecto libros aliquot meos non discedo et moram ingratam vix devoro. Sic ut tu facias volo, expectes dum veniat huc tibi desyderatus tantum Asconius; volabit ad te etiam implumis. Iocor. At rem ut commisisti Vadiano narrabo. Livium Clivani, si apud me vel illum est, mittam. Codicem meum Iuvenalem puto tantisper, dum tuus ligetur, tenebis. Iam nihil quo te garriendo offensurus sim[5]. Feruntur quaedam de vestris incaute agentibus per Ducem illum Wirtem, Phalarim et perniciem Helvetiae. Sinistri sunt et hic rumores de peste. Omnia tamen Conradus sic melius dicet[6], dicet ut non sit litteris credenda. Et vellem ego non sponte tristes Epistulas scribere. Vale, tuos salutari volo omnes, familiam, D. I. M. Xilotectum, etc. Vale mi Osalde, si aliquis meus. Tiguri. Die divi Iacobi. M D XX.

Conradus tuus.

E II, 340 ,fol. 10, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.

1. An added *q* (?) is crossed out. 2. Written below a word that is heavily crossed out. 3. *numerabos* (?). 4. Followed by *missus esset* crossed out. 5. Altered from *sint* (?). 6. Followed by *n* crossed out.

9. Zurich. November 4, 1521.

Salve mi Osalde. Si vales bene est et quod ego tibi ex animo precor. Iam tanto tempore (nihil nego) pisce taciturnus magis fui. Linguam eripuerat deus amorum ille ter magnus atque adeo apud me non paucis mensibus non puer, tanto enim robore qui adoritur, oppugnat, expugnat, sed Hercules creditus[1], aut si quis hoc quoque grandior robustiorque vixit. Non captus oculis qui videatur, quando me cuncta inspiciente Apolline certius fixerit, telis furorum sauciaverit, facibus impetiverit, incenderit. Non alatus ille Cupido qui tam immenso temporis spacio apud me moretur. Haec ut explerem chartam commentus sum. Qui enim adulescens tam deditus Musis amori cederet? Utrimque ut amem ut studeam sedulo, falsum est. Redeo ad silentium, at hisce verbis connive queso ad hunc errorem, non committam posthac ut incusandus sim. Et confabulare tu per litteras mutuas mecum. Poteris enim istud quam prius unquam commodius praestare quod (nisi parens proscripturus sit e patria) nusquam abibo, peregrinationum infoeliciter succedentium iniquis casibus iam toties commonefactus ut ad abitionis nomen auditum exhorrescam. De Zinlio et quos tu amas, bene agitur. Platonisamus Zinlius, Scudus, Ammanus et ego. Privatim autem si quando per integrum mensem quippiam vacat meditari graecum Epigramma aliquot expono, in carmen (pene exciderat crimen) verto. Excipe hanc raram et brevem operam, nihil ago. Inde fit, mi Osalde, ut tam nihil norim, ut sim Boeotica sue vel, si mavis, monacho indoctior.

Denique ex hoc quoque ut tam incompte inepte barbasculeque tecum garriam, sed quae tua est benignorum morum humana facilitas rursusque facilis humanitas non gravatim amici barbariem suscipis. Suscipisque quod ex animo dicta ineleganter licet malis quam ex ore suaviter ornateque. Utcunque est, scribam rescribam scriptitabo scriptitando enecabo; cave itaque si vivere voles. Clivanum nomine meo supplica, ne in malam partem interpretetur quod nihil responderim, quod ideo factum esse illi dices (modo Lucernae agat) quod sit quiddam quod longiorem moram poscat quam ut iam potuerim extrudere. Huius diei nanque vespere abitionis suae me admonuit pater crastino summo mane discessurus. Ecce causam esse non aliam non missarum litterarum quam huius incognitam properationem. Vale cum tuis foelicissime, mi frater, si pateris. D. Xilotectum, Tibianum et qui me amant saluebis. Tiguri. IIII Novembris, Anno M D XXI.

Conradus Grebelius tuus ex animo.

EI. 1, Nr. 35, Staatsarchiv, Zurich.

1. Followed by *est* crossed out.

III. English Translation With Notes

1. Paris. January 30, 1519.

Greeting, my dear Oswald. When Valentine Tschudi was about to leave on a visit to his parental home,[1] I was hesitating, while writing to a number of persons, as to whether I should also write a little something to you, not that my letters are usually elegant and for that reason pleasing, nor because I imagine that your welfare depends upon my letters. But I do so because you appeared to desire it when you pressed me to this, as I was about to leave, with my promises that I would write to you as often as I could.

I fear you have changed your mind about this and that you changed it on account of Glarean, a man, I say, well established beyond the risk of my judgment and of those like myself, Glarean my teacher beloved above all.[2] When I departed from him I may have offended him as much as anyone ever did. I easily convince myself that this affair will not escape your knowledge and that perhaps you will be no less vexed than he from whom I departed, since you had commended me to him and you have obligated yourself to him with so great affection that no one may rashly offend Glarean without at the same time also making you less friendly. Accordingly when I pondered this with myself and feared I had aroused two persons against myself in one act, I scarcely ventured to send my trivial letter to you.

Then further I am not so apt in writing letters nor so favorably gifted that without long hesitation and blushing can I perform this which many young men accomplish readily and learnedly, since I am always afraid I may furnish you with something to laugh over. When I recalled to mind again your love for me and my love for you and also the respect I have for you and the promise I made to you when I left, in which I warranted that you would not receive uncouth papers more chilly than the song of Ialemus[3] (as they say) with deserved outbursts of laughter and with proper disgust, then my love and my promise made me bold, and even so bold that I was not ashamed to send to you this plaintive dirge. Receive then this letter and welcome it with both hands and with arms outstretched,[4] admire it, laud it with praises, pronounce it Ciceronian and by means of it make yourself drunken with joy: 'From my dear Conrad', you will say, 'is this altogether learned and charming little paper'.

Now I hasten on to something else. If you ask where I live and with whom, I am staying with a printer, a very honorable citizen; with me is John Henry Eleutherius of Zurich who left Glarean before I did, a certain Probapolitanus and a fourth person who is a servant.[5] I have not the time to tell what I am studying. I am sending you the work, clearly an epic one, of the clever Pontanus[6] on the *Flight of the Swiss*, not because it is worthy of your ears, but so that you may see that a blind man has written blindly.

Give greeting to your wife and yours from myself and from J. Henry Eleutherius. Farewell and live most happily.

From Paris. January 30, in the year 1519 from the Virgin Birth.

Your Conrad.

I congratulate my friend Ulrich Zwingli that he has been appointed pastor in my native city.[7] I congratulate my city for finding such a pastor.

Write in reply, if you love me.

2. Paris. (June 9, 1519[8])

If for some time I have not written to you, believe that it has not been because of my fault, but that of others. Believe, I say, that when I do not write it is for the reason that I cannot write. The misfortune into which I have wretchedly fallen John Jacob has perhaps revealed to you.[9] He was unable to announce to me any sooner that he was going to leave, since I was staying in another city beyond the Seine for the sake of peace, nor had he forseen such a hasty departure, nor when he did announce it was I in a position to engage in writing letters because I was about to attend the court with a number of students for the purpose of obtaining a favour. What that is and what my misfortune is like, I have not the

time to relate. If you do not know it, I would prefer to have you learn of it from my father.[10]

I wonder very much why I have no letter from Clivanus,[11] since I wrote to him almost a dozen times after my departure from Vienna. It was in his place to inform me about my books, whether they were burned or left behind or sent to my home land. The books brought by Clivanus which you have I do not want anyone else to have. What I desire to have done with them I shall make known in my next letter or when I shall myself by chance come back.

About the Valerius and the Juvenal I have nothing to report,[12] for the bookmakers are in the university, that is, in another city; I did what I could, I arranged for her who delivers the letter to you to buy these same books which you ask for and take them along. I am in doubt as to what will come out of it; if she does nothing, I shall send them myself. Whatever you do, I accept it with the same feeling with which you do it.

I am pained very much that you have not received any merited reward from the Zurich Council.[13]

My uncertain stay and enormous misfortunes, my distressed mind and inextricable state of affairs weigh upon me so that I do not know which way to turn, what to do, what to fear or hope for, or what men or gods to invoke. And so there is no reason why you should not regard as worthless my illiterate letters, mangled and boorish as they are and quite similar to my own fortune.

I return the greetings of all yours. I beg you to give greetings from me to John Jacob, if he has not yet departed from Zurich. Farewell.

On Thursday before Pentecost. At Paris, from that sink of bandits[14] and of filth, a most hapless place for me.

If I have made no reply to your provisor, pardon me and beg the man to ascribe that to my affairs and not to despair of me. For I am going to write differently than he does himself, and I am also going to act far more uprightly.

3. Paris. July 18, 1519.

Greeting, my highly esteemed, yea, highly renowned Myconius. This is the feeling I have toward you: so devoted, by the gods, that I long to converse with you very often by letter when there is no other way of doing so. And I verily leap for joy when a messenger has presented himself, who by delivering my lamentations to you rather frequently compels you, as the saying is, to grasp the cicada by the wing.[15] Wherefore it has come to pass that I could not be silent even at this time when Fortune,

acting altogether as a step-mother[16] toward me, has all but altogether consigned me to the noose.

Those bandits about whom we have many times talked, if they would make of the state only a wilderness, they would deserve to be without blame. Indeed because they attack our homes, because we are not allowed in safety to attend to religious matters at sundry times, that is on holy day to visit the churches, and to transact most necessary business, they hindering us, O misery! with impunity at the very time when they lie in wait for the life of each and everyone, all this is to me truly unbearable and no less detestable.

Furthermore another thing is infinitely more unbearable, a thing which without discrimination does not know how to spare anyone and which has recently set about to reduce the human population, the plague. It has begun to rage with us, and if you knew what various plans I have formulated, you would say I am a Proteus.[17] Of all these I shall use the following one: they tell me the plague can be avoided if one flees away from the place where it is raging. Accordingly I have also myself decided to do this. Following the Seine I shall withdraw to the tenth milestone from the city; as companions I will have those who are planning to shun the same kind of danger.[18]

Besides these things I am in an uncertain state of health,[19] only so much however, that I prefer rather to be afflicted with a definite illness than with a plague not even definite. These small misfortunes even in one way or another would have to be borne with resolute mind, unless that saying of Vergil's Dido, "Nowhere can one safely put his trust,"[20] seemed really to have been spoken more truly by myself. Again and again these things would be nothing, if I were permitted to complain and to deplore sufficiently these very bitter and Lemnian misfortunes[21] of mine without provoking the loud laughter of some persons on account of some act or other. I refuse to tarry longer on these matters. There is something else which I wish you to know now.

I desire this one thing only, that it may be my lot to spend what time I have left to live in acquiring a mastery of literature. I do not know where I could prosper better in this than in Italy, nor with what better companion than John Jacob, provided he does not refuse me. I should like for you to try to find out what my parents have decided about me, but especially the decision of John Jacob, whom if I do not love, let no one love me, neither men nor gods. If he loves me really, no Eurymnus is going to bring about a separation between us[22] and he will be to me and I to him all the way to Italy a loyal Achates.[23]

I have sent a longer letter with this one so that you could understand that it is the messenger's fault, not mine, that it has not reached you sooner. They write each sheet to you, or all, if you prefer; I do not want this letter read by others. To you I say different things than to another.

The books which you had asked for I suppose you have and are already using them. If you desire anything else besides, order it with a nod, do not deprive me of the opportunity, and have it done more quickly than I can write. I am yours so surely as the gods love me, and would that they might love me so that I could more worthily be yours. Farewell most happily. Give greetings from me to your wife and yours.

From Paris. July 18, in the year of Salvation 1519.

Jodocus Mauroticheus bids me to give you very hearty greetings from him; but he prefers to be called Melanticheus.[24]

(*Outside Address*: Grebel to his Myconius)

4. Paris. January 14, 1520.

Greeting. I have received all the letters which you sent me by the canvassing lady, for she delivers them all for the sake of a trifling profit. From all these I have learned at last what your wish is. You ask what I have decided about the pamphlets which I sent you first from Austria and then from France. I bade you keep them and I still bid you do so, so that you were quite right in writing that you use them no less than your own. Whatever it is that I may hear about this matter hereafter, I have made my reply; let me know shortly; I cannot desire another thing than you shall desire and I cannot but perform whatever I shall have been asked, ordered, or advised.

Thus far I have easily perceived what first and last to discuss with you in this letter. What I should turn to next I am in no doubt about, but I hesitate, I who have been all but strangled by the noose of Fortune, by the noose, I say, with which she has threatened me so persistently that at the last she almost flung it. You relate awful tragedies which descend upon this poor head of mine.[25] Father (for this you have heard from mother) grieves and is angry and fears, because he thinks I have loaned my money to cheaters and have squandered it, because I have wasted irreparable time, because I did not remove to William's house.[26] In other words, because Fortune treats me like a step-mother you do not know whether or not on this account he feels the greater sorrow or anger. He fears also that some more serious misfortune will attack me now that I am still unharmed. He has been ordered to call me away from here, that the plague is raging, that he is out of humour, that he spends sleepless

nights in dread of my having overstepped the bounds of honor. He is reconciled neither by Vadian's[27] intercession nor by yours.

I urge him by letter not to grieve, not to do what you have said he does; I would that I could persuade him. Of the money a very small part, in fact scarcely a farthing, have the cheaters swallowed up. The greatest part, due to the great expense of the time, the abyss of Fortune has engulfed (to whom I would like to see a lot of things attributed). I have not moved to William's house; he himself did not order me to do so, nor was it possible for me to do so and finally it would perhaps not have been acceptable to him. You would say the same if you had read father's letter and if you had known any circumstances at Paris. For this reason it is not easy to see why I have not been obedient to father in this. There is no fear of a worse misfortune, of course, inasmuch as I have stolen nothing, have not practiced highway robbery, have done nothing Italian,[28] nor finally have I perpetrated anything that savours of dishonesty. I do not see who would prepare for me a French noose, unless perchance Fortune, whom I for a long time already have been forced to endure in the stead of an executioner, is contriving a second time this disaster.

But if neither from that source he fears that misfortune awaits me, from what source, pray then, does he fear danger and what sort and why is he so greatly afraid? Let him call me away (but how the Furies do meantime drive and harass me!) provided he will not call me away out of Scylla into Charybdis[29] and from one plague into another. When he has called for me he will not be able to frighten me with his anger and with the plague and to exclude me from home longer than until he sends money and the winter is over. Let him sleep as sound as Endymion[30] if he wants to, for my deeds do not prevent this. Whoever will strive to the contrary, since I am forced to depend upon myself, I shall do nothing to hinder him (very nearly I said something else).[31] If he can be reconciled by no entreaties, if he is a Toronaean harbor[32] to the supplications of his son-in-law, his friend and his son, if my so-called family will welcome my coming first of all with inhospitable anger, what shall I do? I shall play the part of a man; yea, even mocking at Fortune and presently yielding to her imperative calamities and fearful furies, I shall have the emotions and the nature of a character in an ordinary tragedy.

These things confuse my poor mind worn out by so many misfortunes, a thing which you had anticipated beforehand and you decided to give me advice in advance lest unwittingly I should fall into a worse danger. You have the disposition of Myconius as always. I owe to you my gratitude and do not even repay it. Be content if I feel eternally

grateful. Make use of and use up completely this poor little creature if at any time you have the occasion. He is yours, overwhelmed by your kind favours.

About father and no less about you I have prattled quite enough to disgust someone and doubtless move his bile too. Mother's wish, following your advice, is that I should stay there, if I safely can, until father's anger subsides and you Myrmidons stop dying in troops.[33] To stop here my chattering also it is in my place, you say, since the feelings of my parents and my friend have been discovered, to do what I shall think best, but in such a way that my decision be not unknown to you; mother likewise wishes this. But really, how shall I ever see clearly what is best, I to whom no opportunity, not to mention good opportunity, ever flies up to be seized by the hair?[34] But on either side or rather on every side Fortune is a Euripus;[35] if I plan to stay here she promises to distress me with the disasters[36] of the obscene finger and of the plague when spring returns; she will slay me with the dread of other assailants, finally with the ignorance of what things the Fatal Sisters are meanwhile weaving.[37] In my fatherland, intending to live as an exile in my father's house, Fortune will slay me with the same plague and with the wrath of my father who is moved to tears not even by misfortunes such as these. Do you not say that I am holding the wolf by the ears standing between the victim and the knife?[38] Therefore I make no decision; I as your subject shall do nothing unless my consul gives me orders; I shall offer myself to be dragged at the heels[39] of Fortune and of father.

I would that I had never known the Phrygian whom I should have known as a Phrygian and not only as a Zurichian.[40] The fellow perished when summoned by no one; he went to the dead loaded down with my money. If nowhere, neither here by a stipend nor at home by his mother's property, it will be paid, whatever he owes I shall remit to his soul. Meanwhile I shall neglect no opportunity in my need to scrape together what I can. May he, wheresoever he stays after the end of troubles, find God more merciful than his deeds deserve.

You have removed to Luzern so that there everything may turn out according to your heart's desire;[41] I pray that you with yours may escape the plague. I long to enjoy your friendship; I would that some time like you I could do something worthily in learning. Farewell and most happily. Give greetings from me to John Xylotectus,[42] a man as highly cultured as he is highly learned, and to your wife as many times as she never could greet me, I will not say a thousand times, as well as to the other members of your household. Again farewell, my comfort in these misfortunes.

At Paris, from my headquarters, I wish they were educational instead of inquisitional. On the fourteenth day of January of the twentieth year beyond 1500 from the Virgin Birth.

Conrad Grebel of Zurich, a poor little miserable friend of yours.

In a former letter I ordered you to compose an epitaph for me as for one soon to die.[43] Change this inscription, if you have composed it (to avoid any error), and let it be an epicedium.

Unless among the silent dead or among the Pythagoreans[44] he is learning to speak by saying nothing, I bear the silence of Clivanus very impatiently. I have written six hundred times and have received nothing. He acts like one not giving an answer. I indeed shall not din upon his ears any longer by asking for his papers. But let him write since being warned for the last time and he shall receive from me a long Iliad, and if with that the excessive reader will not be sated I shall add besides also a wandering Ulysses.[45]

This I had almost overlooked: let this letter go to Zurich or to any other place where father may be staying. If you shall inform me who they are who advise father so prudently, or for what reason you suspect they are doing this, you will do me the greatest possible favour.

5. Paris. March 7, 1520.

I give greeting to you, who are the most intimate of all my friends. With how great satisfaction, not to say pleasure, I have read your letter, this is as inexpressible as I am miserable (that I may start complaining right from the beginning). You discover to me father's feeling and mother's and Vadian's, for if they ever show themselves, to their son in the one case and to a brother-in-law in the other, even in the form of a ghost or a dream,[46] then let all gods and goddesses (as a good part of mankind does of late) turn against me and remain implacable by any kind of sacred expiatory rites. Unless indeed you would say they show themselves in this: when they laugh at me and my messenger and then in the end desert me in the midst of so great calamities when I particularly need assistance and deliverance from these billows on which I have so long been tossed. They, of course, in order not to neglect their duty, have not written, for this they could not do, but neither have they replied to my letters, although so far as leisure is concerned they could write off volumes for me. They have bidden me hope for nothing and they have even sent back word to a man already mourning to weep for a long time. I see no money that I could lay hold of if I should want it and they have the audacity to reply only this much by a messenger, that I am not ignorant

of where to borrow money, in case there should be need for that. On what grounds I may have hurt my parents' feelings and on what grounds Vadian's, this is to me absolutely dark. Nevertheless prostrating myself before them time and again, I cling to their knees and beg so earnestly that, during the while that I am accomplishing nothing and the very attitude of my prayers is rejected, I could easily with so great prayers have won the favour of even cruel enemies. If they persist, they will help me on a bad way.

To me it is not yet clear in what direction I shall escape or what character I am going to play, within the limits, however, of what is honorable. I would that it were destined for a ship-wrecked man to be cast out of the present Scylla and to be thrown into another Charybdis, or thrown out upon the shore by the gracious favour of the gods to avoid them both. If it is not possible, and by God Almighty it is not possible, I hand myself over to Fortune and to the gods to be tormented until their fury against me in life ceases to rage when I am dead.

Fittingly enough the plague here with the month of March started anew the devastation which had scarcely yet ended from the autumn before. I do not beg to escape death; an untimely death I do beg to escape. I pray for an end to my troubles, who am myself soon to come to my end. My unfriendly friends pray the same for me. My circumstances urge me to pray together with many others and make clear to me the fact that in no manner ought I to prolong my life by prayers. So then there is lacking nothing at this time which is unable and unwilling to bring me to my end. If I come back to you alive, I shall have lived to be a Nestor[47] and in the Pythagorean fashion am even reborn in a body.[48] Now I turn to something else, although actually there is scarcely another matter more copious to which I can be drawn aside.

You express thankfulness for the pamphlets which I sent. I neither expected this nor did I send them on that account, but I sent them to let you know that I intend to oblige you, for also your kind favours urge me to do so, whensoever I happen to have an opportunity for returning your favours. It is your privilege to make use of my services, great or small as they may be, as often as you like, since you will neither exhaust them at that. The promised Asconius Pedianus you long for so greatly that I would by all means have sent it to my friend if it had been printed and issued to the public and if I had been able to scrape together the money with which I might have purchased it,[49] I who am so poor that I scarcely have the means to live with. You have the reason why it has not been sent. I do not see how it is to be sent before it has been put into general

circulation unless you send what must be paid for it. A scanty, nay rather an empty purse, makes one niggardly and the times impoverish one and disasters drive one insane. You will take in good part this feeling and you will advise what in either case I must expect or must do.

Books are here on sale at very low prices, very fine books and from the Aldine Press[50] and these also in each literature. There are two that are bound at a cheaper price and at that better and more beautifully than anywhere outside of France. What ones among so many you desire, I do not know. If you wish some to reach you, include the money and I shall discharge promptly the task that I am bidden to discharge. If you like Greek, as in fact is your wont, taking delight in the poets, you will like the Homer, I think. It is gilded over and beautifully made up and is sold for not two scutati.

About Conrad I have what you write.[51] We are friends, if we have never been actually separated in mind and condition. These matters at another time.

You urge my return; this is no less free from danger for such a shipwrecked fellow like me than to stay here. Each fosters a lurking danger. I have decided upon this at least: I shall accompany my associates who plan to flee to Melun on account of the plague, not so much for the same reason as on account of their help upon which I am dependent.[52] If the fates shall pursue me thither also, I shall lay this whole matter to father's charge, who is the fault that I have not been able to escape, in that he, falling so very far short of a parent's feelings towards such great calamities of his son, does not call me away.

To yours, that is, your wife and son and the young men pursuing their studies, return greetings from me. Farewell.

At Paris. March 7, in the year 1520.

Conrad Grebel, yours.

(*Outside address*: To the man highly cultured and refined in all good letters, Oswald Myconius, a friend to be cherished among the first.)

6. Paris. April 13, 1520.

Greeting, my glory and defense, my Oswald. When Glarean set out from here[53] and I had scarcely finished writing a letter to father, something happened, particularly annoying for this reason too, because I am not permitted to talk with you by a longer letter. This, however, either by divine aid or by care, the assistant of physicians, presently will leave me and return to where it came from. Do not be at all uneasy about this matter, if you love me. But you will be uneasy; I do not wish, however.

that anything of mine should be unknown to you. And since you never cease to write to me so kindly and so seasonably and then most of all when my dear ones, my protectors, father and Vadian, neglect me, I shall gladly write to you even though I may not be in a fit condition for letter writing because of ill health. I am yours, if you allow me, both if you are mine and if you were not.

I have not yet procured the Asconius Pedianus on account of the printers and my lack of funds, nor is it my fault that I have not fulfilled your wish. Please give greetings from me to J. Xylotectus, to your whole household a thousand times, and also to my Conrad. Farewell and happily.

At Paris. April 13, in the year 1520.

Grebel, your humble friend, who of all men is fondest of you.

Answer the previous letter which that old woman with the spectacles doubtless delivered; for, of course, you will answer this one.

I have no rest and am tossed from the Scyllas into the Charybdises; I fear shipwreck is nearer than the harbor. I call upon the gods. I am in suspense between hope and fear, until I either be delivered or come to ruin amid the frightful waves.

7. Zurich. July 6, 1520.

Greeting, my dear Oswald. Your letter our friend Publicola[54] satisfactorily delivered to me on the road when I was already two days away from Paris (for some young men who had come to meet Glarean fell in with us). I rejoiced over this letter when I opened it at once and read it as much as anyone possibly can and as much as you scarcely believe, perhaps, or as you do believe if you know me inwardly. You do know, however, that I am one who is always extremely fond of you and of your letters. You believe it accordingly and therefore you constantly write and also constantly with wonderful pleasures, when I am sad and distressed with troubles, you call me away from myself to free my brow from wrinkles. And you are strenuously performing what Vadian strenuously neglects. Albeit I have learned to be magnanimous and to regard such trifles as nothing. I would not, however, want you at some time to become silent also from his example. But I frankly confess that I have never expected this of you nor shall I ever expect it.

As for Glarean, after greeting me he said he was not feeling very well from the accident with his horse by whom he had been hurt and that he desired to keep quiet for two days and regain his strength before going on to Paris, although that place could have been reached by two days' travelling even by worn-out riders.[55]

I have purchased the Asconius for you and I have had it bound not at all inelegantly; as it is now made up it is sold for a half gulden.

As for myself, what father intends to do with me next, I conjecture more from you than from him. Whatever it will be, you shall know it also. You do not realize how greatly you are obligating me to yourself by the fact that you constantly write to me. I beg you not to stop and I also shall not cease. But let us correspond more cheerfully and rather according to our very praiseworthy old-time manner.[56] I bid you give my hearty greetings to Xylotectus as a man exceedingly refined and learned, then to your wife and son and to our Conrad. Farewell, my dear Oswald, and live most happily with yours.

July 6, in the year 1520. At Zurich.

Conrad Grebel, your brother, if you like.

'Mong all whom I with worthy love embrace,
I ask to die, if you can yield first place.

Three ties bind you to me a steadfast friend
Forever true: A goodness without end,
A frankness unrestrained, and oft a line
Brings cheer and countless joys for which I pine.
These things, not e'en as learning's gifts, I said
To lasting troth betwixt us now have led.
Yet this I prize; Apollo oft invests
Those whom repulsive character molests.

Pardon the verses if they limp; they have hurried so that I fear the feet may have struck some rude roughness of the stones.

8. Zurich. July 25, 1520.

Greeting. Your letter I received with extraordinary delight, not so much for the reason that you congratulated me on my return to my fatherland, but especially because of your long-standing and now newly expressed friendship. That you love me in no ordinary manner I have for a long time already been convinced, inasmuch as you did so nicely appease my indignant father and by means of your continuous intercession have rendered him reconciled to me. Finally you have cherished in such a manner a fellow like me, who am inelegant and not at all like yourself in the splendor of learning. Accordingly you cannot attest your love unless you prefer of your own accord to render your love better attested. And as often as you do this, so often do you seem to tell me my own

dreams and to count my nails and fingers for me.[57] You see how you need to make no strenuous effort to make clear to me what your feeling is toward me, and it is easy to obtain what you want from one already convinced.

Now I, regarding my loyalty toward you, in my turn shall repeat nothing beyond measure. Hear and know only this: next to my parents, to whom is due the highest degree of love, I will count scarcely one or two whom I esteem more highly than you and to whom I would wish to know myself to be more attached and devoted, for whom, I say, as often as opportunity and my affairs permit me, I shall strive more eagerly and more faithfully to do a favour than for you. These matters at another time.

The Diet of the Swiss to be held in your city[58] has already aroused my hopes, so that if father is going to be sent in the delegation I have no doubt about my going to Luzern in his company, intending there to seek nothing or admire nothing except my Oswald along with his friends and my friend John Xylotectus, men so learned, so cultured and, what I count of great importance, so affectionate toward me than even if father were never to go there I would go to visit them some time. But I will do so at that time, perhaps, when Fortune will bring me back prosperously from Vadian. In the meantime, while I am waiting for some of my books, I am not leaving home and I can hardly swallow the unpleasant delay. I wish that you may have the same experience; that you may be in expectation until the Asconius comes which you so greatly long for. It will fly to you even before its feathers are grown. I jest.

But I shall tell Vadian the business as you entrusted it to me. If Clivanus' Livy[59] is here or at his place, I will send it. My copy of Juvenal, I presume, you will keep for a time until yours is bound. Now there is nothing with which I shall offend you by chattering.

Certain things are reported about your people acting unwisely toward that Duke of Wuerttemberg, the Phalaris and the plague of Switzerland.[60] There are also gloomy rumors here of the plague. Nevertheless, Conrad will tell better all things as they are, he will tell them so they need not be entrusted to a letter. Also I do not mean voluntarily to write sorrowful Epistles.[61] Farewell.

I send greetings to all yours, to your household and to my friend Xylotectus and others. Farewell, my dear Oswald, who are mine if anyone is.

At Zurich. On St. James Day, 1520.

Your Conrad.

9. Zurich. November 4. 1521.

Greeting, my dear Oswald. If you are in health, it is well, which is what I pray for you from my heart. Now for so long a time (I do not deny it) I have been more silent than a fish.[62] The god of Love had torn out my tongue, that triple sized fellow and for not a few months past in my case certainly not a boy, for he that attacks, assaults and captures with such vigor cannot be regarded as a boy, but a Hercules or whoever has lived that was even larger and stronger than he. No one is captivated who is looked upon by his eyes, seeing that while Apollo was watching the whole affray he surely pierced me through, he wounded me with the darts of his fury, he attacked me with his torches and set me aflame. Not winged is this Cupid who for such a long period of time tarries with me.[63]

All this have I invented for filling up this sheet of paper. For what young man so greatly devoted to the Muses would yield to Love? Either statement is false: that I am in love and that I study unceasingly. I return to silence, but with these words: wink, I beg you, at this slip; hereafter I shall not act so as to be worthy of blame. And do you converse with me by exchange of letters, for you will be able to perform that duty more conveniently than ever before, because (unless father is going to exile me from my home city) I shall never go away, having now so many times been admonished by the disastrous outcome of foreign sojourns which prospered badly to shudder at hearing even the mention of departure.[64]

Zwingli is getting along well and those whom you esteem. We are reading Plato; Zwingli, Tschudi, Amman and myself.[65] At home, however, if at any time during a whole month there is leisure to study something, I interpret some Greek Epigram[66] and turn it into verse (almost I had written 'worse').[67] Aside from this occasional and brief labor I am doing nothing. This accounts, my dear Oswald, for the fact that I know nothing and am more ignorant than a Boeotian pig[68] or, if you prefer, than a monk. Furthermore it may be for this reason too that I chatter nonsense with you so inelegantly, foolishly and rudely; but in accordance with the polite good-nature and again the good-natured politeness of your kindly disposition you do not take offense at the rudeness of a friend. And you do not take offense because you prefer things spoken from the heart, though inelegantly, rather than what is said from the mouth smoothly and ornately. Whichever is the case, I shall write, I shall write again, I shall write repeatedly, I shall slay by writing repeatedly; so then beware if you wish to live.

Beg Clivanus for me not to take it ill that I have not replied. This has happened for this reason, as you will tell him (provided he is at Luzern) that there is something which requires a longer delay than that I could already have accomplished it. For this very evening father advised me of his going away, intending to start very early tomorrow morning. Behold, there is no other reason for my failure to send a letter than his unexplained haste. May you and yours fare most prosperously, my brother, if you permit. To Xylotectus and Tibianus[69] and those who love me you will give my greetings.

At Zurich. November 4, 1521.

Conrad Grebel, cordially yours.

NOTES

1. Valentine Tschudi, native of Glarus in Switzerland and a brilliant young man, pursued his studies successively at Vienna, Pavia, Basel and Paris (Zwingli to Vadian, Letter No. 23 of *Zwinglis Briefwechsel,* Vols, VII ff., of *Huldreich Zwinglis Saemtliche Werke,* 1911 ff.). At Paris he was a fellow student with Grebel under Glarean. For his present visit to Switzerland, which included some business in connection with his appointment as pastor at Glarus to succeed Zwingli, he left Paris about February 1 and he returned thither in the following April (*Zw. Br.,* No. 72; also Letter No. 156, in *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* by E. Arbenz, 1890 ff.).
2. Heinrich Loriti (1488-1563), who named himself Glareanus from his native canton Glarus, was a leading Swiss scholar and humanist of the time. He taught Greek and Latin at Basel, Paris and Freiburg. At Paris (1517-1522) he enjoyed a royal stipend and was the center of a company of students, mostly Swiss, among whom for a time Grebel was included (*Vadian. Br.,* No. 136). But on January 1, less than four months after his arrival in Paris, Grebel left his house and company after quarrels and disagreements with his teacher. In a letter to Vadian of January 29, 1519, Grebel gives a harsher judgment of Glarean than he does in this letter to Myconius. For the biography of Glarean see O. F. Fritzsche, *Glarean, sein Leben und seine Schriften,* Fraunfeld, 1890.
3. Ialemus is the personification of mourning songs and dirges in the classical Greek writers (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopoedie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, s. v.*). For the proverb see Des. Erasmus, *Adagiorum* chil. II, cent. 10, prov. 86 (*Opera omnia,* Lugduni Batavorum. 1703).
4. For this as a proverbial expression see Otto (*Die Sprichwoerter und sprichwoertlichen Redensarten der Roemer,* Leipzig. 1890), p. 212, and Eras., *Adag.* II. 9, 54.
5. John Henry Frei (Eleutherius) was a Swiss student at Paris. The other persons mentioned here are unknown.
6. The reference may be to the work of Petrus Pontanus entitled "Congratulatio de Francorum regis Francisci I. optato post edomitos Helvetios in Gallias reditu," printed at Paris in 1516.
7. Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) is the well known humanist and Swiss reformer. His appointment in 1519 to the office of people's priest at the Grossmuenster in Zurich was hailed with delight by the Swiss humanists and friends of the new learning. Glarean in a letter to Zwingli dated January 13, 1519, after expressing his own hearty joy over his friend's appointment, adds: "Omnes

adeo, quot-quot ex Helvetiis adsunt iuvenes, fremere et gaudere, praecipue vero Tigurini." Zwingli had previously been priest at Glarus (1506-1516) and Einsiedeln (1516-1519). Biographical references on Zwingli are given in Egli, *Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte* (1910), Vol. I, p. 31, footnote 1.

8. This letter is unsigned and the date is incomplete. That Grebel wrote the letter is clear from the fact that the writer had been a student at Vienna and had left there some books which he wished to have conveyed to Switzerland; he was also a friend of Clivanus and had written letters to him (*Vadian. Br.*, Letters No. 135, 137). The year can be fixed from the fact that the John Jacob, who in this letter is spoken of as having left Paris lately, is known to have left that place for Zurich in May of 1519 (*Zw. Br.* No. 76).

9. The John Jacob spoken of in this letter and the next may have been either John Jacob Zurgilgen of Luzern or John Jacob Amman of Zurich, very probably the latter. They were both pupils of Glarean at Paris (1517-1519) and apparently they set out together from that place for Zurich in May, 1519, (*Zw. Br.*, No. 76 and note 4; cf. Herminjard, *Correspondance des Reformateurs dans les pays de langue francaise*, Vol. 1 (1866), No. 22 and note 7).

10. There were disturbances in Paris at this time of which Glarean makes mention in letters to Zwingli (May 15, 1519) and to Myconius (June 7, 1519, *Zurich Staatsarchiv, E. II.* 336, fol. 6). The kings Charles of Spain and Francis of France were rival aspirants to the imperial throne left vacant by the death of Maximilian in January, 1519. Already in March the Swiss Diet had voted to resist to the utmost the election of the French king as Emperor (Myconius to Beatus Rhenanus, March 22, 1519, letter No. 100 in *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus* by Horawitz and Hartfelder, Leipzig. 1886). These political circumstances doubtless embarrassed the young Swiss students who were studying at Paris, especially such as Grebel who depended upon stipends from the French king for their support. Being ardent patriots, as most of the Swiss humanists were, perhaps led them into trouble. On the first day of May Glarean's students had killed two Frenchmen, which as Glarean testifies created a perilous situation for himself (To Myconius, June 7, 1519). Seemingly Grebel was involved in this affair in some way and the "misfortune" which he speaks of almost certainly was connected with the same. The affair provoked his father's wrath and other consequences which greatly clouded the remainder of Grebel's stay in France. In this letter he is purposely vague in speaking of his trouble and circumstances and a number of statements and allusions throughout the letter are consequently obscure. The failure to sign his name adds to the mystery of the letter. Grebel almost without exception signs his name to his letters, except when he wants to conceal his identity from prying eyes that might chance to read the letter in transit. Another such example is the letter to Andreas Castelberger published in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* for July, 1927.

11. Rudolph ZumBuehl (Clivanus) was another brilliant young humanist who at about this time returned to Switzerland after two years of study at Vienna. He was a native of the canton Luzern and later taught Greek at Zurich (For biographical references see *Zw. Br.*, No. 150, note 1). Clivanus is mentioned also in Letters No. 4, 8, 9.

12. Grebel probably had been asked to procure copies of these classical Latin authors for Myconius. Iodocus Badius Ascensius issued an edition of Juvenal's *Satires* at Paris in 1519 (See the introduction to G. A. Rupers, *ed. altera of Juvenal*, Leipzig, 1819). In the same year at Paris was issued an edition of C. Valerius Flaccus (J. A. Wagner, edition of *Valerius Flaccus*, Gottingen, 1805).

13. Doubtless as a remuneration for the commentary which Myconius produced on Glarean's *Descriptio Helvetiae* which was published at Basel in 1515 (M. Staub, *Die Beziehungen des Taeufers Conrad Grebel zu seinem Schwager Vadian*, Zurich, 1895; p. 5, note 1).

14. By bandits (Latin, *latrones*) Grebel in these letters seems to refer reproach-

fully to the French people, or sometimes to the French party in Switzerland. Swiss patriots hated the French on historical grounds.

15. Proverbial (Erasmus, *Adag.* I. 9. 28).

16. Proverbial (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 245; Eras., *Adag.* II. 2. 95).

17. Proverbial (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 289; Eras., *Adag.* II. 2. 74).

18. Grebel in company with four other Swiss students about this time repaired to Melun, a town above Paris along the Seine, and returned to the city on the following first of January. The plague was very severe at Paris this year, more than 30,000 are reported to have succumbed to it, and the mortality among the students seems to have been especially high (*Vadian. Br.* No. 170; *Zw. Br.* No. 112). In Switzerland the plague was raging at the same time, as is clear from the next letter below.

19. Grebel suffered almost continuously from some unknown ailment about which in his letters he consulted Vadian who was also a physician.

20. Vergil, *Aeneid* IV. 373.

21. Proverbial (Erasmus, *Adag.* I. 9. 27).

22. Proverbial (Erasmus, *Adag.* IV. 2. 6).

23. The John Jacob is presumably the same one mentioned in the preceding letter (Note 9, above), Grebel long planned to study in Italy, but this purpose he apparently never realized. In 1518 he unsuccessfully sought one of the four papal stipends given to Zurich for study at Pisa (*Zw. Br.* No. 27, note 3). At one time he thought of Bologna as a place for study (Letter to Vadian, January 29, 1519). At the time of this letter he entertains a hope of accompanying John Jacob Amman to Milan for study. Amman did spend a year and a half at Milan, from autumn of this same year till the spring of 1521 (*Zw. Br.* No. 159, note 4). In December, 1520, Grebel was on the point of starting for Pisa, but never got away (*Vadian. Br.* Nos. 224, 232; cf. No. 250). Grebel appropriately likens himself to Achates, the trusty companion of Aeneas on his epic journey to Italy as told by Vergil in the *Aeneid.*

24. He is unknown. It is questionable whether one should think of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, famous printer at Paris, as being perhaps the printer at whose house Grebel stayed after his rupture with Glarean (See letter No. 1 above).

25. Proverbial (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 128; Eras., *Adag.* I. 1. 84).

26. It is not known who this William was, but it might have been William Budaeus.

27. Joachim von Watt or Vadianus (1484-1551) was the greatest humanist scholar of Switzerland. A native of St. Gallen, he spent the years from 1501 to 1517 at the university of Vienna first as a student, then as a teacher. He was Grebel's teacher there, won his life-long esteem and to his great delight married this devoted pupil's sister Martha in 1519. Grebel's devotion to Vadian and the relations of the two men are revealed in the fifty-five extant letters of Grebel to Vadian from the years 1518 to 1525. Biographical references in note 1 to *Zw. Br.* No. 2.

28. The humanists from north of the Alps had in general held aloof from the moral looseness and the unscrupulous license which characterized many of the Italian humanists. To them the latter were sometimes proverbial for moral turpitude.

29. Proverbial (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Eras., *Adag.* I. 5. 4).

30. Proverbial (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Eras., *Adag.* I. 9. 63).

31. Apparently a word play in the Latin: *moror* means "I hinder" or "I am a fool," according as the first vowel is pronounced short or long.

32. Proverbial (Eras., *Adag.* II. 9. 8).

33. An allusion to the vivid scene at the opening of the first book of Homer's *Iliad* where the host in the Greek camp is perishing from the ravages of a plague.

34. Proverbial (Otto *op. cit.*, p. 249).
35. The name of any narrow strait with violent currents. (Liddel and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon, s. v.*).
36. Proverbial (Erasmus, *Adag.* II. 4. 68).
37. These are the three goddesses Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos, who according to the Greek mythology are believed respectively to spin, measure and cut off the thread of human life.
38. Proverbial (Otto *op. cit.*, pp. 199, 305; Eras. *Adag.* I. 5.25 and I. 1.15).
39. Proverbial (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 276; Eras., *Adag.* II. 1.18).
40. We do not know to whom Grebel refers in this sentence. Phrygian was proverbial for an incorrigible character (Eras., *Adag.* I. 8.36).
41. Myconius moved to Luzern in the fall of 1519 to take charge of a school there (*Zw. Br.*, No. 104, note 1).
42. John Zimmerman (Xylotectus) was a canon at Luzern, a humanist and a close friend of Myconius (*Zw. Br.*, No. 211, note 1). Grebel sends greetings to Xylotectus in all but one of the letters which he wrote to Myconius at Luzern.
43. The letter is not preserved.
44. Proverbial (Otto, *op cit.*, p. 292; Eras., *Adag.* IV. 3.72). It is said that the novice who learned the Pythagorean system of philosophy was required for a period of two years or more to keep absolute silence and merely listen to what was told him.
45. *Iliad* is proverbial for a lengthy literary composition (Eras., *Adag.* IV 5.51). The *Odyssey* containing the wanderings of Ulysses is the companion poem of the *Iliad.*
46. Proverbial (Eras., *Adag.* I. 3.62).
47. Proverbial for a man of great age (Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 242; Eras., Adag. I. 6.66).
48. An allusion to the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls.
49. The only surviving work of Quintus Asconius Pedianus (c. 3-88 A. D.), a learned Roman grammarian and historian, is a commentary on a few of Cicero's *Orations.* It is not known who put out an edition of this author at Paris in 1520.
50. The press of the Aldi at Venice was noted for the many fine editions of the classical authors which it put out (G. H. Putnam, *Books and Their Makers During the Middle Ages,* New York, 1896, Vol. I, pp. 417 ff.).
51. The Conrad mentioned here and in the following letters is not identified.
52. There is no record that this second retreat to Melun as here contemplated took place (Note 18).
53. Glarean made a brief visit to Switzerland in the spring of 1520, leaving Paris in April and returning in June (*Zw. Br.* No. 131, note 7).
54. Publicola is otherwise unknown.
55. At this writing Grebel is at his home in Zurich, having evidently left Paris recently. On the way he met Glarean who was on his return journey from Switzerland (Note 53). Glarean speaks of his accident with his horse in a letter to Zwingli of July 7, 1520. Grebel found the incident quite amusing to himself (*Vadian. Br.* No. 230).
56. Unfortunately all the letters of Myconius to Grebel are lost.
57. Proverbial (Eras., *Adag.*, II. 9.68).
58. A number of Diets of the Swiss Confederacy were held at Luzern during the year 1520 (*Zw. Br.* No. 141, note 1).
59. He means a copy of Livy's *History of Rome.*
60. Duke Ulrich of Wuerttemberg, a despotic and high-handed prince, had in October of 1519 been driven from his country for the second time by the

armies of the Swabian League. He had championed the election of Francis I to the imperial throne and was disliked by loyal Swiss patriots (L. von Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation,* Leipzig, 1873, Vol. I, p. 266). At the time Grebel is writing the cantons Luzern and Solothurn were making overtures towards helping Duke Ulrich recover his kingdom (*Zw. Br.* No. 145, note 12; A. Feyler, *Die Beziehungen des Hauses Wuerttemberg zur schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft,* Zurich, 1905, pp. 180 ff.). In 1517 Ulrich von Hutten had published his famous dialogue *Phalarismus* which was a mordant piece of satire directed against Duke Ulrich. Grebel alludes here to this dialogue.

61. An allusion doubtless to the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto,* sorrowful poems written by the Roman poet Ovid in exile.

62. Proverbial (Erasmus, *Adag.* I. 5.29).

63. Cupid is traditionally the god of love, usually represented as a winged boy with quiver and darts. Grebel did have a love affair at this time as he discloses in letters to Vadian (Nos. 275, 285, 290). Apollo is often referred to as a patron deity of learning and the arts. The Muses were synonymous with learning and culture (Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations,* V. 66).

64. Grebel had made a short sojourn at Basel from where he wrote to Vadian under date of August 21, 1521. In spite of what he says here he is in Basel again in December (*Vadian. Br.* No. 290; cf. C. Neff in *Gedenkschrift zum 400jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Mennoniten oder Taufgesinnten,* 1525-1925, p. 73) unless this letter to Vadian is wrongly dated, as Arbenz suggests (III. p. 232).

65. Valentine Tschudi (Note 1) and John Jacob Amman (Notes 9 and 23), the former but lately returned from Paris and the latter from Milan, together with Grebel were pursuing some further studies under Zwingli at this time (*Zw. Br.* No. 190, note 4).

66. In a letter to Vadian dated November 2, 1521, Grebel mentions the Greek author Lucian and the Greek Epigrams as the matter of his private reading at this time.

67. A forced word play in the Latin: *carmen . . . . crimen.*

68. Proverbial (Erasmus, *Adag.* I. 10.6).

69. Tibianus is otherwise unknown.

The World War as Reflected in British Poetry

Melvin Gingerich

War has always been a subject of poetry. Its heroes have been exalted, and the glory of war has been extolled by many poets in numerous countries and during various ages. The last war, likewise, received the attention of our poets. Among the British, Brooke, Flecker, Graves, Sassoon, and Owen have become noted for their verses on the great conflict. These young men were all caught up in the great gust of patriotic fervor that swept through England at the outbreak of the World War; all of them saw more or less of warfare, and each one recorded in verse form his impressions, although these impressions were not the same in every case nor even the same at the end of the war as they were at the beginning.

The opinion is held generally that Rupert Brooke wrote the best of all our war poetry. He was a young man, twenty-seven years of age, when the war came, and he enlisted with relief because it meant to him, a youth bored by a lifeless world, turning away from

> "A world grown old and cold and weary . . . .
> And half men, and their dirty songs and dreary,
> And all the little emptiness of love"

to a new world "where the worst friend and enemy is but Death." He saw some service in Belgium during 1914 but died on the way to the Dardanelles in April of the following year. On this trip he wrote his immortal 1914 sonnets.

In these sonnets is contained the early flush of romanticism, which so generally characterizes the behavior of the young men at the beginning of a war. As Brooke's friend, Sorley, wrote, "Rupert Brooke is far too obsessed with his own sacrifice, regarding the going to war of himself (and others) as a highly intense, remarkable and sacrificial exploit, whereas it is merely the conduct demanded of him (and others) by the turn of circumstances, where non-compliance with this demand would make life intolerable. He has clothed his attitude in fine words: but it is, nevertheless, the sentimental attitude."

The first sonnet, "Peace," gives expression to the relief that came to him when opportunity to engage in war presented itself.

> "Now, God be thanked Who has matched us with His hour,
> And caught our youth and wakened us from sleeping."

These lines and those quoted before, taken from the same sonnet, show that he felt everything could be gained and nothing lost by war. This struggle was to renovate society and to prove a great blessing to youth.

The second, "Safety," indicates that for him there was no fear of death for "We have built a house that is not for Time's throwing" and also,

> "Safe shall be my going
> Secretly armed against all death's endeavor,
> Safe though all safety's lost; safe where men fall;
> And if these poor limbs die, safest of all."

The third, entitled "The Dead," eulogizes those who dying have "made us rarer gifts than gold." The young men who have "poured out the red rich wine of youth" in noble sacrifice have given a rich heritage to those left behind—a heritage composed of Holiness, Love, Pain, Honor, and the Nobleness that "walks in our ways again."

The fifth sonnet, designated "The Soldier," pictures a high type of patriotism, not jingoistic, but a true, sincere, honorable love of country. There is a freshness of expression, and a moderate use of sentiment that causes one to remember

> "If I should die, think only this of me;
> That there's some corner of a foreign field
> That is forever England."

"The Dear," sonnet number four, perhaps contains more realism and less of the romantic than any of the five. The poem contains both a backward and a forward look, backward to the time when

"Dawn was theirs, and sunset, and the colors of the earth," and when they "touched flowers and furs and cheeks," and forward to the time when death shall have left "a white unbroken glory, a gathered radiance, a width, a shining peace, under the night." There is a note of sadness in this retrospection which could have been produced only by the recognition of the stern realities of war; but a less successful effort is made to find consolation in it all. This poem and other of his writings contain evidence that had he survived the first few years of warfare he would have been disillusioned as his comrades were.

One of the most remarkable qualities of the sonnets is the fact that there is no hate, no condemnation of the enemy, and not the least hint that bitterness towards the foe existed. This is remarkable, and yet should have been expected, for how could Brooke have been the Great Lover otherwise? War, to him, was a great adventure—a chance ot escape from

a decaying society, and at the same time by doing so, to arouse once more that dead world to love, and sacrifice, and honor.

Francis Ledwidge, a young Irish poet, who saw service on the Flanders front and was killed there in July, 1918, gave us a poem that illustrates very well the spirit that characterized young England, and the poets especially, at the beginning of the war. This poem, named "Soliloquy," ends with these verses:

"A keen edged sword, a soldier's heart,
Is greater than a poet's art.
And greater than a poet's art,
A little grave that has no name."

These were the sentiments of the men as they entered the struggle under the influence of the patriotic fervor that swept the allied countries. To learn if there was any change in attitude towards the World War among this group after they had seen considerable service at the front and after the war had dragged along for several years one must examine the writings of Graves, Owen, and Sassoon.

Graves characterized their writings in a few words when he said, "Of the poets with reputations as War-poets not more than four or five (including Sassoon, Owen, Rosenberg, Blunden, and Read) bore the heat and burden of the war: and these unanimously vilified rather than celebrated the War: and of these only Siegfried Sassoon published his verse while the War was still on."

Robert Graves, too, was roused by the war but, giving himself to his country, refused to glorify war or write hymns of hate. He reacted against the storm of fury and blood lust, but in his writings on the subject he is not so bitter nor so violent as some of the others. One of his most noted war poems is "It's a Queer Time," the last stanza of which is given.

"The trouble is, things happen much too quick;
Up jump the Boches, rifles thump and click,
You stagger and the whole scene fades away:
Even good Christians don't like passing straight
From Tipperary or their Hymns of Hate
To Alleluiah-chanting, and the chime
Of golden harps . . and . . I'm not well today . .
It's a queer time."

Here is pictured quite effectively the questioning attitude in which the soldiers found themselves after having seen the fury and horror of actual warfare. Can warfare be Christian even if a war is being fought for a righteous cause? What is it all about, and is it worth while? The

questioner appears to be bewildered but evidently is very far removed from his first attitude on the subject.

"Kill if you must, but never hate:
Man is but grass and hate is blight,
The sun will scorch you soon or late,
Die wholesome then, since you must fight."

To him war was something dreadful, to be avoided if it was at all possible; when the inevitable comes one must fight but never, never hate.

Before the hostilities were over he thoroughly detested war and tried to drive the thought of it from his mind. From Mametz Wood he wrote a poem to Sassoon in which he longingly depicted the journeys they will make and the poetry they will write "when it's over." His "Country Sentiment" (1919) seems to be animated by the desire of forgetting the war. But the horror and awfulness of it all can not be driven from his mind so easily, and he is afraid that another war is inevitable.

"Another war soon gets begun,
A dirtier, a more glorious one;
Then, boys, you'll have to play, all in;
It's the cruellest team will win.
So hold your nose against the stink
And never stop too long to think.
Wars don't change except in name;
The next one must go just the same,
And new foul tricks unguessed before
Will win and justify this War."

Wilfred Owen was another poet that saw service on the Western Front. While there he was awarded the Military Cross for gallantry but was killed while trying to get his men across the Sambre Canal a week before the armistice. His poetry, too, reflects the second stage of the war when the realities of the struggle became apparent, and bitter disillusionment appeared. In his denunciation of war one finds restraint, passion, pitiful outcries, and expressions of compassion.

Among the most noted of Owen's productions there is the "Anthem for Doomed Youth." This majestic dirge, as it has been called, has elements of the characteristics mentioned. It begins—

"What passing bells for those who die as cattle?
Only the monstrous anger of the guns.
Only the stuttering rifles' rapid rattle
Can patter out their hasty orisons."

"Who die as cattle" is an expressive phrase in which he indicates that he does not have the romantic point of view in regard to the sacrifice of lives through war. This expression is in marked contrast with the expression of Brooke's, "Poured out the red rich wine of youth."

That there were times in which the situation seemed to him as perplexing as it did to Graves is shown when he said

"Merry it was to laugh there—
Where death becomes absurd and life absurder."

Owen shows the effect of war upon the conscience and the finer nature of man perhaps better than any of the other writers. In "Insensibility" he writes:

"Happy are those who lose imagination:
They have enough to carry with ammunition.

. . . . . .

Having seen all things red,
Their eyes are rid
Of the hurt of the color of blood forever.
And terror's first constriction over,
Their hearts remain small drawn,
Their senses in some scorching cautery of battle
Now long since ironed,
Can laugh among the dying, unconcerned.

. . . . . .

By choice they make themselves immune
To pity and whatever mourns in man
Before the last sea and the hapless stars;"

In "Apologia Pro Poemate Meo" he admits

"For power was on us as we slashed bones bare
Not to feel sickness or remorse of murder."

No one pictures more vividly than does Owen that war is murder, horrible murder. His poem, "Mental Cases," is especially effective. This stanza describes the scene that is ever present in the minds of the mental cases resulting from war:

"These are men whose minds the Dead have ravished,
Memory fingers in their hair of murders,
Multitudinous murders they once witnessed.
Wading sloughs of flesh these helpless wander,
Treading blood from lungs that had loved laughter.
Always they must see these things and hear them,

Batter of guns and shatter of flying muscles,
Courage incomparable and human squander
Rucked too thick for these men's extrication."

Perhaps in none of his poems does he show more bitterness than in "Dulce et Decorum Est." After describing a gas attack he pictures in these words a soldier suffering from gas:

"And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin,
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs
Bitten as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues—
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old Lie: Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori."

At times Owen gives way to cutting sarcasm when writing on the subject of war. This is true in his poem, "Parable of the Old Men and the Young." In this one-stanza production he presents the story of Abraham offering Isaac as a sacrifice. The story proceeds up to the point where the angel called to Abraham asking him not to slay the child. The poem completes the story in this manner:

"Behold,
A Ram caught in a thicket by its horns;
Offer the Ram of Pride instead of him.
But the old man would not so, but slew his son . . ."

Another British poet that saw actual service during the entire war was Siegfried Sassoon. He fought three itmes in France and once in Palestine, winning the Military Cross for bringing in wounded on the battlefield. His attitude on war and his poetry on that subject was much like that of his friend, Owen. In fact, it was Sassoon that made known Owen to the world when he published his posthumous volume, *Poems* (1920), and wrote the introduction for the book. Sassoon wrote more material on the war than any other poet, critics considering his three volumes the most vital and unsparing records of the war extant.

Untermeyer says in describing his poetry, "There came a series of war poems, undisguised in their tragedy and bitterness. Every line of these quivering stanzas bore the mark of a sensitive and outraged nature; there was scarcely a phrase that did not protest against the "glorification"

and false glamour of war. . . In "Counter-Attack" Sassoon found his angry outlet. Most of these poems are choked with passion; many of them are torn out, roots and all, from the very core of an intense conviction; they rush on, not so much because of the poet's art but almost in spite of it."

His own words in prose on the subject of war sum up briefly his attitude on the question. "Let no one ever," he says, "from henceforth say one word in any way countenancing war. It is dangerous even to speak of how here and there the individual may gain some hardship of soul by it. For war is hell, and those who institute it are criminals. Were there even anything to say for it, it should not be said; for its spiritual disasters far outweigh any of its advantages . . .

Some of the war poets refused to continue to write about "the collective madness," while others turned hopefully away from the complex city civilization to subjects of rural life, thus attempting to forget the war. Sassoon is different. The bitterness of his wartime experiences seems never to have left him, and he doesn't want to forget. Only last Armistice Day he sounded his warning in *The Daily Mail* (London) by publishing "Aftermath," one of his poems summing up quite well his feelings about war. The last part of the poem is here quoted:

"Do you remember the dark months you held the sector
at Mametz—
The nights you watched and wired and dug and piled
sandbags on parapets?
Do you remember the rats; and the stench
Of corpses rotting in front of the front-line trench—
And dawn coming, dirty white, and chill with a hopeless rain?
Do you ever stop and ask, "Is it all going to happen
again?"
Do you remember that hour of din before the attack—
And the anger, the blind compassion that seized and
shook you then
As you peered at the doomed and haggard faces of your
men?
Do you remember the stretcher-cases lurching back
With dying eyes and lolling heads, those ashen-grey
Masks of the lads who once were keen and kind and
gay?
Have you forgotten yet?

Look up, and swear by the green of the Spring that
you'll never forget!"

Thus has the World War been treated by the British poets. Their change of attitude on the conflict is reflected clearly in their literary productions. The most brilliant of them, although welcoming war, never wrote hymns of hate, nor petty, jingoistic lines. After the brutality, the horror, and the absurdity of war became apparent to them their attitude changed to one that opposed, detested, and bitterly hated the institution. Why poetry such as Sassoon's never appeared before is difficult to explain. Could it be that this war was so much more terrible than the previous ones? Or has the spirit of Christ more influence in bringing about a revulsion against the un-Christian institution of war than He has had before? Was the censorship too strong at the close of previous wars to allow such writings? Is it due to the growing spirit of internationalism? Or what may be the cause? Be that as it may, critics must agree that the writings of Graves, Owen, and Sassoon were prompted by sincere motives, that they are the result of strong convictions, and that there is no affectation in them.

The Present Situation of the French-Speaking Mennonites

Pierre Sommer

The French Mennonites are without exception descendants of Swiss Mennonites who were banished from Canton Bern, Switzerland, at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries. Many of the exiles from Bern had gone at that time to Holland and later to America, but the majority remained in Alsace and the Palatinate in the hope of returning some time to their beloved homeland. Many also found refuge in the mountains of the Jura region, whence they later had close relations with the Mennonites who had gone to Montbeliard.

The Mennonites who had settled in Alsace as early as 1648 were expelled in the year 1712 by an edict of Louis XIV. They turned toward the Principality (County) of Montbeliard which at that time belonged to Wuerttemberg, and to Lorraine which was likewise at that time not yet French, and to the Duchy of Zweibruecken in the Palatinate. However, in spite of the edict, many remained in Alsace. Those who had settled in Montbeliard remained there, while those who had settled in Lorraine and Zweibruecken kept pushing farther forward into the interior of France, so that today Mennonite families may be found as far west as in the vicinity of Chaumont and St. Dizier.

The French Mennonites of today are divided into two distinct language groups. The language border between the German and French speaking population in France runs on a line from Metz eastward through Saarburg, then southward through the middle of the Vosges mountains to Altkirch, then west to the Swiss border. The Mennonites who settled east of this line in German speaking territory have naturally maintained the German language. On the other hand, those who settled west of this line in the midst of the French speaking population finally were forced by circumstances to adopt the French tongue in spite of strenuous endeavors and many sacrifices. The classification of the present Mennonite congregations in France according to the two groups is as follows. German speaking congregations are: Basel-Binnigen, Birkenhof, Altkirch, Pfastatt-Pulversheim, Colmar, Neu-Breisach, Weilertal, Hang, Salm, Saarburg, then southward through the middle of the Vosges mountains tions in French speaking territory are: Morhange, Repaix, Baccarat, Luneville-Nancy, Toul, Ligny (Meuse), Haute-Marne, Darney (Vosges), Belfort, Florimont, Pays de Gex, Montbeliard. Since my work as evangelist

covers the French speaking congregations only, I shall confine myself to this group in the further discussion.

The number of Mennonites in the French speaking congregations is small, about 1250 altogether including baptized members and children. The largest congregation is Montbeliard with about 300 members and children, the smallest Repaix, with scarcely 20. Regular worship is held in many of the churches every two weeks, in most every month, and in a few less frequently. The congregations meet in church buildings of their own, or in rented halls, and in a few cases in the homes of the members according to the ancient custom.

The spiritual life of most of the congregations, it must be confessed, is rather weak, and is hindered by much indifference, ignorance, and formalism. What has been the cause of this sad state of affairs? Many reasons can be offered in explanation, some of which take us back into the past history of the churches.

First, the various congregations lost a considerable share of their membership by way of emigration to America, especially about the middle of the nineteenth century. Although for many the desire to better their unfavorable economic situation was an important motive for emigration, yet for just as many the cause was the desire to hold fast to the biblical principle of non-resistance which had been held by their fathers. For this reason often the best members of the congregations left, and the congregations suffered severely through this loss.

Again, the change in language from German to French was the occasion of serious loss, since it meant for most of the congregations a complete breaking of the connections with the sister German speaking congregations. On the other hand, the preachers insisted on holding fast stubbornly to the German in spite of the fact that it was impossible to maintain it. They could not see that with the members living in widely scattered communities it was impossible to maintain the necessary German schools without which it was utterly impossible to maintain the German language which was utterly foreign in the regions where they were living. It is stirring to notice how desperately the older people and parents worked to keep the German. At home it was forbidden to speak a single word of French. At times the children were sent to relatives in German speaking Alsace, and again the parents themselves undertook the laborious task of teaching the German although often they could scarcely read and write. At other times a few neighboring families combined to hire a "schoolmaster," who usually was a simple "hired man" from Alsace and who lacked every qualification for his work. Then the time would come to

give catechetical instruction preliminary to baptism. The Eighteen Articles of Dordrecht had to be committed to memory. It was a terrible task for the poor children to learn these long pages of German doctrinal statements of which they scarcely understood a word. Many still think back with shivers of the experience. Although it may seem unbelievable there are still quite a number of grown men and women in our churches, who learned their confession of faith in this way and said "yes" to all the questions, without having the least conception of what it all meant. Recently I was deeply moved to hear an old brother with gray hair say, after attending one of my baptismal instruction classes in French, "Oh, Brother Sommer, I was born forty years too early."

The preaching was all in German. The people came to meeting from great distance, often 25 miles or more, on foot, or by carriage and wagon, in all kinds of weather, sometimes having to stay over night. There they had to sit for hours often without understanding what the preacher was saying, although they knew practically everything that was said by rote, for what they heard every time was but the repetition of what the preacher's father and grandfather had preached their life long before him. The sermons were simply copied from one generation to another. The singing was extraordinarily monotonous. There they sat, four or five to a table, and sang from the Asbund as well as they could, always the same songs over and over again, for opening usually number 131 (O Gott Vater, wir loben dich) and for closing number 134 (Lebt friedsam, sprach Christus der Herr).

Should we marvel that the youth of the church gradually turned away from the church and became more and more distant spiritually in the midst of the strong Catholic environment. The children begun to acquire Catholic expressions and ways of thinking. For instance, today one frequently hears our meetings referred to as "the mass" (La messe); baptism is called "the first communion" (la premiere communion), which is the local Catholic term for confirmation. Mixed marriages became more and more frequent which were of course always followed by excommunication. About 300 Mennonite families are included in the French speaking territory, but I know of at least 200 mixed marriages in the same territory in comparison to this, which means that a fifth to a fourth of our young people have been marrying outside of the church.

In addition to all this, each congregation stood by itself, without any connection or contact with the other congregations, wholly ignorant of the great work of the church and the task given to her by her Master. With such an impoverished existence, the churches had no needs, a treasury

did not exist, and why should it? Not a word was said about giving. It was indeed a cheap religion, for most of the families did not give a centime a year for the work of the Kingdom of God.

For thirty years now we have been endeavoring by the Grace of God to overcome these evils by visitation in church and home, spreading French bibles, conducting French services and preaching, introducing French hymns, gathering the congregations into districts and holding conferences. In the year 1903 the Conference of French Speaking Congregations was organized and in 1906 a monthly church periodical was established with the name of *Christ Seul* (Christ Only). The question of a regular visiting conference evangelist was taken up. Then came the War which brought much suffering and misery to the churches as well as to all, since most of our congregations were in the heart of the war zone. The periodical naturally had to be given up, and many of the meetings were closed. Much promising new life was slaughtered on the battlefield.

After the war the ruins began to collect themselves laboriously. Many congregations were threatened with complete extinction. The Alsatian brethren, who are again French, came to our aid. They encouraged us and helped us to again resume the former work. And added to this, the brethren in America ("old" Mennonites) came to our support with loving assistance. The American brethren promised financial assistance and support for a traveling evangelist and thus I was enabled to accept the call of the Conference Committee and enter definitely into this work, indeed a large and difficult field of labor.

When I resumed my work at the end of the year 1926, many of the brethren thought that the old French periodical *Christ Seul* should again be published. It was my opinion also that much good could be done in this way for church and home. So now it is being published in an edition of 1,000 each month. It is circulated among the Alsatian churches also where there are now French schools, and where many read French readily. *Christ Seul* is also sent to many of the mixed marriage families, and many other families in city and country throughout France who have even the most distant connections with the Mennonite congregations. It also finds entrance into a few Protestant homes, as well as Catholic with which I have become acquainted on my evangelistic trips.

Another part of my work is the house visitation in the various congregations. One advantage of this method of work is that in the homes one has the entire family together. In the meetings usually only a part of the family will be found present. Even at home it is difficult to always get all together, since some are at work and the children are at school.

For this reason it is important to use every opportunity since the work with the children is of utmost importance. In this visitation work one sees how impoverished the family religious life often is, and how ignorant the poor children are in spiritual matters. How splendid it is, when the childish hearts are opened and drink in the beautiful stores and songs. One has many experiences, pleasant and unpleasant. I also visit on principle all the homes from mixed marriages, and often find that the Word of God is falling on entirely new ground. At times there is opposition. Unbelievers introduce all sorts of topics for argument. I usually do not take up the discussion but simply give testimony to the love of God, and the joy of the assurance of salvation through the blood of the Lamb of God. How one's heart is filled with joy when the Lord has given grace and freedom for such testimony. It is a hard, unimpressive work. But I believe that if the work is carried with much prayer it will bring much fruit for eternity, and that is after all our goal.

Naturally, wherever possble, I hold special meetings throughout the territory, and attend the regular services when it suits. In this way one covers much distance, as much as 70 to 80 miles visiting a few families. One Saturday evening I came to a family in order to go to church with them on Sunday. We drove to church by automobile in the morning, returning the evening of the same day, and found that the speedometer on the automobile registered 207 kilometers, which is about 125 miles.

Then, in the winter, I aim to hold Bible Conferences in the various congregations. Wherever possible the people are gathered together for two to three days of conference with addresses morning and evening.

The Lord is blessing the work to our encouragement. Young people are waking up and turning to the Lord, and we are trying to make active members out of them. In this connection the question arises, how can we prepare the active young people for service? We have no schools of our own, and frequently even the elementary schooling is lacking. When I became acquainted with the young American brethren who were engaged in reconstruction work near Verdun, I thought to myself: "O, if we could only have such youth in France!" For some time we have been sending some of our young brethren to a Baptist Bible School in Paris, but they cannot remain there for long and thus do not get full benefit of the instruction. On the other hand there is the danger that they will slip away from us into the Baptist ranks, if they are really gifted.

Gradually interest is being awakened in the work of the Lord. Our periodical is sent out free of charge so that it will get into every family since otherwise there are many who would not subscribe. It is supported

only by free-will offerings. To the present time the Lord has provided for it, as before the war. I have the confidence that so long as we labor according to His Will, there will be no lack of support. Our giving is increasing, and reached the sum of 7,000 francs for the year 1927 (about $300). Of this sum, 2,400 francs goes for foreign missions, 2,600 francs for home missions, and 1,000 francs for deaconess and nursing work. In addition, our congregation at Montbeliard is working on a new church building. The families of this community are giving liberally, many up to 10,000 francs. It is a joy to see how thereby the Lord is enabled to give us further blessings, so that spiritual life may be renewed in our churches.

In France, we Mennonites have full freedom of religion, and have the same rights before the law as any other citizen; we have no disabilities. The military laws, however, recognize no exception, hence every citizen of military age must serve his term, Mennonites as well as others, much to our sorrow. In the matter of the oath, an affirmation is accepted as a legal substitute.

As far as economic conditions are concerned, our families belong to the middle class. We have few rich, and also very few poor. The great majority of French Mennonites are farmers. Earlier many of them were linen-weavers and millers. In many communities one could scarcely find an individual mill that was not operated by a Mennonite. But the little private mills have practically all disappeared, and the home weaving industry likewise has been supplanted by the great factories. So, nowadays, one will find the Mennonites mostly on farms or as village-farmers. In France, as is generally known, the farms are clustered about the villages, a condition which makes agriculture more difficult. Mennonites are reckoned among the best farmers, and are held in high esteem for this reason. In addition to farming, other occupations are also found among the French Mennonites, such as factory work, civil officials, and salaried positions in trade and industry, etc.

The lack of schooling is to be regretted. I know of no single preacher who has any education beyond the primary schools. Among the youth there are very few who have attended secondary schools. And when they do go they are often lost, for they do not feel themselves at home any longer in our communities.

Another great evil is the small number of children. Although there are still here and there good-sized families, especially along the Swiss border, families of four and more children are a rarity. In many congregations this is a tragedy for in consequence we have congregations

that are actually dying out. I know of one congregation with fifteen families where one lone child was the youngest member of the community for 17 years. What future is in sight for such congregations?

Involuntarily, in the face of these facts, one asks the question, why work any longer? But the world is round about us, truly a great harvest field. Souls are dying without a Saviour. The commission of the Lord is "Go and Teach," and he says, "The night cometh when no man can work." Nothing more is required of stewards than that they should be found faithful. Lord, make us faithful.

The Modern Church College and Character Building

Sanford C. Yoder

Of the first nine Colleges to be established in the United States, eight were founded by the Church. Our oldest and strongest institutions in America are among them—Harvard, Yale, Princeton. It is said that at the beginning of the Civil War in 1860 only seventeen of the two hundred forty-six colleges were state institutions. As late as 1850 there were more than six thousand academies in our country of which almost all had been established by the Churches. In these schools there were approximately a quarter of a million students.

Since then great changes have taken place in our educational affairs. The institutions of higher learning have increased amazingly. State universities and colleges have largely replaced private institutions, and the public high school has supplanted the privately-owned academies. A few of the private college and academies that were well established and highly endowed have survived, and today these institutions still wield an influence in our educational affairs that is altogether out of proportion to their number and size.

What do these facts have to do with our question and why should these points be raised now? There are three reasons why. First, these facts show that the Christian Church has ever greatly concerned itself with educational affairs. Second, many educators still insist that it is impossible to divorce Christianty and educaton and yet continue to build character to say nothing of spiritual life. Third, the Christian colleges all over the country are fighting for their existence, and by some classes are considered unnecessary in view of the large number of tax-supported schools.

The outlook of these early colleges and academies was thoroughly Christian. Their curricula were built around the Bible and related fields of knowledge. Their purpose was largely vocational—they trained men for the ministry, medicine, law, and the teaching profession. It was during this period of church-supervised education that some of America's greatest men arose. Hamilton brought order out of chaos in American finance. Jefferson contended for the principles of democracy. Marshall strengthened the weaknesses of our government by his wise and liberal construction of our untried fundamental law. Webster threw his

*An address given in the Goshen College Chapel, September, 1928.

eloquence on the side of the constitution, Hayne and Calhoun argued for states' rights, while Clay held the discordant elements together through compromise. In the field of literature it was "springtime." Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Bryant, Poe, Holmes, and others sang their sweetest songs. Emerson philosophized and wrote essays, Thoreau wandered by his beloved Walden and "raved" about nature, Hawthorne and Cooper wrote fiction, and Prescott gave to the world his works in history.

Is it fair to presume that the religious element in education should claim honor for all that is great during this period? Decidedly, No! Other agencies made great contributions. There was a vast store of new material. The great, new country afforded a variety of experience. The transfer from a settled old world order to one more fluid can not be overlooked. Problems, personal and national, private and public, called forth men's best thought. In fact it was a combination of circumstances that brought to the surface the profoundest ideas of men.

But in all this the religious element was not lacking. It was the foundation of character. It formed the basis of conviction. It influenced thought and affected action. The thinkers of this period were by no means a unit in their concepts of God, the soul, and other topics, but nevertheless these and related subjects influenced their thought and life.

In those early days the school stood within the shadow of the Church. From her it drew its support. She was the wellspring of its life. In those days the Bible was generally taught as the authority on ethics and morals. Out of this attitude toward the Scripture there grew conviction that was both restraining and impelling and influenced conduct, life, and thought. Since then things have changed. Our nation has grown. Out of many nations and creeds we have been made one citizenry. This welding has its effect on our educational institutions. One creed cannot be expected to furnish the means of support for another. In matters wherein individuals alone are affected there is liberty; in matters which affect others we must respect rights.

This element of heterogeneity in nationality and religious belief has made necessary the policy of no religious insstruction in the public school. This by no means implies that all instructors are irreligious or unreligious. Many are still motivated in their work by a religious impulse, and by their personal influence do much to steady the morals of our youth during the period of stress which normally runs parallel with high school and earlier college days. Neither does it mean that the public school is necessarily opposed to the religious element in instruction. The schools of our own city of Goshen afford a fine example of what can be done when there is a

desire to provide for this kind of instruction. There is a chain of circumstances, however, that has brought about a condition which makes positive religious instruction in the public school inadvisable and perhaps impossible, and consequently, places other more materialistic forces in the ascendancy, throwing back upon the home and the Church the duty of making provision for religious education.

What are some of the factors that are responsible for this shift in attitude toward things religious? How shall we account for them and what may we expect from them? Some of the factors are the following:

1. A transfer of the control of our educational system from Church to State. This does not necessarily mean that the men who are now directing our educational affairs are not Christian. But it does mean that when people who are divided in religious opinion are asked to contribute through taxation to a common cause that the points of their differences must be allowed to rest.
2. Dr. Henry H. Sweets, Secretary of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, in an address before the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, lays the blame in part to our extensive curricula and says:

> "Schools are now literally crowded with their enriched curricula. The changes in the social and economic conditions of the home, new knowledge in the fields of science, of industry, commerce, the demands upon physical, intellectual and social life, have made educators to feel that none of the interests of life are beyond their responsibility. The field of their endeavours covers all the areas of human life. All, except the deepest and most fundamental of all interests, the soul."

One can easily see how the child would have little time for the needed training in religion. One can easily see how this neglect—though unconscious on the part of the teacher—may lead the student to conclude that religion is of minor importance to the welfare of mankind and attach little significance to it.

3. Immanuel Kant is generally recognized as the father of modern philosophy. He insists that all we can know is the appearance of things and that the realities which morality demands and for which religion claims existence are never more than assumptions. It is true indeed that not all philosophers since his day agree with him, but he does exercise over all speculative thinking since his day an influence that is both wide and deep. Regarding this, A. E. Baker in his book,

How to Understand Philosophy, says, "Since the time of this man and through the influence of his teaching many teachers have been led to believe that religion belongs to the realm of superstition and that it contains nothing concerning which the intellect needs to concern itself." This, I fear, has taken away from our youth as well as their elders the greatest stabilizing influence in human conduct, the most steadying of all forces—the fear of God.

4. The introduction of the scientific method in the field of education has been of untold help in arriving at definite and correct conclusions in the various fields of knowledge, but it has also led to serious error on the part of those who have no experience in religion but who nevertheless sit as judges of its merits. These judges, ignorant of the vital facts of religion, reach their conclusions with the most important and essential data missing, namely, personal experience. Since they themselves do not have this experience they declare that none exists and that all these phenomena are psychic or imaginary. Because their conclusions are proven correct in other fields where they have essential data, students are led to accept the judgment of these teachers in matters of religion at the expense of their own faith. The result is such that many people are more and more convinced of the truth of the Scriptural statement, "He that wavereth is like the waves of the sea, tossed about and driven."

5. There is arising a new religion, if indeed it may be called a religion. We may well object to the use of the term in this relation for the reason that in its historic usage religion has always had to do with belief in God and future destiny. These two elements are largely denied by this thought group. It decries faith in God, exalts reason, and is seeking to do by the application of scientific formulae what religion only can do. "The end of this religion is a socialized democracy. Its law is an ethical code, which will lead to scientific morals. Its duty is reason. Its end is character, achieved by self-reliance, self-culture, self-respect, and self-expression." With this agrees Dr. Doyle who insists that the aim of education is the biological integrity of the individual. To these people there is no God, no fixed moral law. Nothing is sacred. Righteousness consists of those practices which society sanctions, provided such practices contribute to the happiness of the majority. At the same time there is often no agreement as to what constitutes real happiness.

What has been the result of this kind of thinking and teaching? Men have grown in knowledge but declined in character. We have developed

the intellect but neglected the soul. Instead of growing in spirituality the age is developing into materialism. Many no longer think with God, but rather think without Him. Science often does not recognize Him. In literature God is considered a rhetorical figure with which to embellish a poem and make an appeal to sentiment; but too few, far too few recognize Him as a potent factor in the every day affairs of men. The need of the age is not knowledge—much as we prize it—but character. Many have developed their intellect, acquired skill and efficiency in handling gigantic organizations or institutions, but do not have sufficient character to restrain them from stealing the funds they handle and from killing those with whom they work. Such training and equipment is unavailing. I repeat again that the great need of the hour is character, established in and founded on the eternal truths of the Word of God, from whose wisdom there is no appeal. It has stood the test of time. It has been tried and proven true.

This change of attitude toward God has its influence on life, and is without doubt in part responsible for our crime wave, our disrespect for law and authority. To it we may rightly attribute the moral breakdown in many lives, for when faith in the Word of God is shaken and that Word has been declared the word of men, then our standard of ethics is become as unstable as the source from which it is derived. But if God is a reality and His word is true, then His standards are absolute and any deviation from them must result in serious loss.

Can we look to the educational institutions of the day for help? Yes! but only as they turn and include in their program the things that make for character. When the wise man said: "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom," he gave expression to a truth that is fundamental but which is often lightly quoted and little meditated upon. In it, however, is expressed one of the greatest stabilizing forces in human experience.

Let us note briefly what some of our great scholars and teachers say on this subject.

Dr. E. O. Sisson, formerly president of Montana State University, is quoted as saying:

> "So far as we know, history has no instance of a national character being built up without the aid of religious instruction or of such a character surviving the decay of religion."

Quoting again from Dr. Sweets, we read:

> "Confidence in education without the sanctions of religion has been ruthlessly shaken throughout the world at this time of world upheaval. Men in all walks of life are recognizing the

baneful influence of an education that knows not God or fails to make adequate provision for instruction concerning the things of the spirit. Faith in a Supreme Being is the organizing factor of a man's intelligence. Belief in a Moral Governor of the World to whom an account must be made is the steadying influence in the moral life."

Dr. Paul Monroe in his *History of Education* says:

"The complete secularization of schools has led to the complete exclusion of religious elements in public education, and to the very general exclusion of the study of the Bible and of all religious literature. Thus the material that a few generations ago furnished the sole content of elementary education is now entirely excluded and the problem of religious education presented. Little attempt at solution is being made and little interest is being aroused. The problem for the public school teacher comes to be quite similar to that presented by the Greek philosophers, to produce character through an education that is dominantly rational and that excludes the use of the supernatural or religious element. For our schools we have definitely rejected revealed religion as a basis of morality and seek to find sufficient basis in the development of rationality in the child. Thus one most important phase of education is left to the Church and the home, neither of which is doing much to meet the demands."

While we are quoting the opinions of men we cannot pass by the following extract from an editorial by the noted journalist, Henry Watterson.

"Surely the future looks black enough, yet it holds a hope, a single hope. One, and one power alone, can arrest the descent and save us. That is the Christian religion. Democracy is but a side issue. The paramount issue underlying the idea of democracy is the religion of Christ and Him Crucified—the bedrock of civilization."

Only one more authority, Dr. G. Stanley Hall. He says:

"I cannot find a single criminologist who is satisfied with the modern school, while most bring the severest indictment against it for the blind and ignorant assumption that the three R's or any merely intellectual training can moralize."

And now in the language of the Apostle Paul, "What shall I more say, Time would fail me," to tell of Estelle, and Roberts, and Haig, and

Lee, and Wilson, and a host of others; educators, ministers, statesmen, jurists, consecrated lay-men and lay-women, anxious fathers and mothers who see hope only in the return of a people to a faith in God. The Church must rise to her duty as a teacher of spiritual things. Instead of following the world she must supply that which is lacking in our system of education—namely, a deep rooted conviction on things eternal. Her homes and her schools must be Christian in living as well as in profession. Her teachers must not only be versed in fields of secular knowledge but they must be men and women who know God out of a personal experience. It is not enough that we Christians are able to state what we think and explain what we read, but it is necessary that our testimony be strengthened by what we feel deep in our souls.

Is the outlook hopeless? No! No.! Not so long as God lives and His word remains true! Not so long as his Church takes her task to heart and heeds his commission, "Go, teach." Before her lies one of her greatest opportunities; a large field is open. No one hinders her from entering it—no one but her own who have neither the vision of their duty nor of their opportunity. Former President Thompson of Ohio State University is quoted as saying, "The Church College, properly endowed and equipped, has the supreme call and the supreme opportunity of the hour."

The question now is, will the Church College meet the occasion? Like the statesman of old I have no way of judging the future but by the past, but guided by that criterion I shall say, in due time she will; she dare do nothing else. To neglect so important a duty would be to destroy her own life and betray Him whom she serves. Such a task should call every Christian to his knees in supplication for divine light and for that wisdom "which is from above and cometh down from the Father of Lights."

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME I.
1927

Published by

GOSHEN COLLEGE, GOSHEN, INDIANA

U. S. A.

PRESS OF
THE GOSHEN PRINTERY
GOSHEN, INDIANA

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

VOLUME II.
1928

Published by
GOSHEN COLLEGE, GOSHEN, INDIANA
U. S. A.

PRESS OF
THE GOSHEN PRINTERY
GOSHEN, INDIANA

The MennoniteQuarterly Review

INDEX TO VOLUME I, 1927

Acts of the Apostles, The—G. Campbell Morgan. (Book Review.) Noah Oyer ---------- 1.75
American Mennonite Literature, Two Centuries of, 1727-1927: A Critical Bibliography. I, II, III. Harold S. Bender----------1.34, 2.46, 4.60
Amish Mennonites, Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania to 1783, Pacifism among the Mennonites, . I, II. Wilbur J. Bender----------3.23, 4.21
Anabaptism in Tyrol: A Review and Discussion. Ernst H. Correll---------- 4.48
Andreas Castelberger, A Letter of Conrad Grebel to, May, 1525. E. H. Correll, H. S. Bender, and Edward Yoder---------- 3.41
Badener Disputation, Die.—Leonhard Von Muralt. (Book Review.) Ernst H. Correll ---------- 3.62
Baptism by Immersion, Did Menno Simons Practice? John Horsch---------- 1.54
Bender, Harold S. Das Buch der Reformation Huldrych Zwinglis.—Walter Koehler. (Book Review.)---------- 1.67
Editorial ----------1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1
A Letter from Conrad Grebel to Andreas Castelberger, May, 1525. (With E. H. Correll and Edward Yoder)---------- 3.41
The Leaven of the Sadduccees.—Ernest Gordon. (Book Review.)---- 1.69
History of the Central Conference Mennonite Church.—W. B. Weaver. (Book Review.) ---------- 3.65
Mennonites in North Carolina---------- 3.69
Source Material for Mennonite History:
I. The Discipline Adopted by the Strasburg Conference of 1568---- 1.57
II. Two Old Church Letters of 1817 and 1842---------- 3.60
Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature, 1727-1927: A Critical Bibliography. I, II, III----------1.34, 2.46 4.60
A Valuable Accession to the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College ---------- 3.72
Bender, Wilbur J. Pacifism Among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783. I, II----------3.24, 4.21
Books For Children.—Alta Mae Erb. (Book Review.) John Umble---------- 1.75
Buch der Reformation Huldrych Zwinglis, Das.—Walter Koehler. (Book Review.) Harold S. Bender---------- 1.67
Castelberger, A Letter of Conrad Grebel to Andreas, May, 1525. E. H. Correll, H. S. Bender, and Edward Yoder---------- 3.41
Central Conference Mennonite Church, History of the.—W. B. Weaver. (Book Review.) H. S. Bender---------- 3.65
Colleges, Endowment for Mennonite: Some Practical Problems. Paul Erb-- 2.18
Church Letters of 1817 and 1842, Two Old. Harold S. Bender---------- 3.60
Conrad Grebel, to Andreas Castelberger, A Letter of, May, 1525. E. H. Correll, H. S. Bender, and Edward Yoder---------- 3.41
Correll, Ernst H. Anabaptism in Tyrol: A Review and Discussion------- 4.48
Die Badener Disputation.—Leonhard Von Muralt. (Book Review.)--- 3.62
Gedenkschrift zum 400-Jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten.—Chr. Hege, Editor. (Book Review.)---------- 2.73
A Letter from Conrad Grebel to Andreas Castelberger, May, 1525. (With H. S. Bender and Edward Yoder.)---------- 3.41
Research on the Relations between Friends and Mennonites in Europe in the Seventeenth Century---------- 3.73
Devotional Leadership.—Gerrit Verkuyl. (Book Review.) Noah Oyer----- 1.75
Discipline Adopted by the Strasburg Conference of 1568, The. H. S. Bender ---------- 1.57
Did Menno Simons Practice Baptism by Immersion? John Horsch---------- 1.54
Editorial. Harold S. Bender----------1.1, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1
Education of Her Youth, The Mennonite Church and the. Albert J. Steiner-- 3.64
Endowments for Mennonite Colleges; Some Practical Problems. Paul Erb-- 2.18
Erb, Allen. The Mennonite Church and Hospital Work---------- 1.28
Erb, Paul. Endowments for Mennonite Colleges: Some Practical Problems-- 2.18
False Patriotism. I, II. Guy F. Hershberger----------1.9, 2.29
Friends and Mennonites in Europe in the Seventeenth Century, Research on the Relations between. Ernst H. Correll---------- 3.73
Gedenkschrift zum 400-Jaehrigen Jubilaeum der Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten.—Chr. Hege, Editor. (Book Review.) Ernst H. Correll---------- 2.73
Hershberger, Guy F. False Patriotism. I, II----------1.9, 2.29

History of the Central Conference Mennonite Church.—W. B. Weaver. (Book Review.) Harold S. Bender---- 3.65
Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Non-Resistance, An. I, II. John Horsch----3.5, 4.3
Horsch, John. Did Menno Simons Practice Baptism by Immersion?---- 1.54
An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on Non-Resistance. I, II----3.5, 4.3
Hospital Work, The Mennonite Church and. Allen Erb---- 1.28
Immersion, Did Menno Simons Practice Baptism by? John Horsch---- 1.54
Index to the Review Supplement to the Goshen College Record, 1926---- 1.76
Jubilaeum der Taufgesinnten oder Mennoniten, Gedenkschrift zur 400-Jaehrigen.—Chr. Hege, Editor. (Book Review.) Ernst H. Correll---- 2.73
Lehman, Chester K. The Problem of Origins.—Leander S. Keyser. (Book Review.) ---- 2.78
Mennonites, Amish Mennonites and Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania to 1783, Pacifism Among. I, II. Wilbur J. Bender----3.23, 4.21
Mennonite Church and the Education of Her Youth, The. Albert J. Steiner-- 3.64
Mennonite Church and Hospital Work, The. Allen Erb---- 1.28
Mennonite Church on Non-Resistance, An Historical Survey of the Position of the. I, II. John Horsch----3.5, 4.3
Mennonite Colleges, Endowments for: Some Practical Problems. Paul Erb-- 2.18
Mennonite Historical Library, A Valuable Accession to. Harold S. Bender-- 3.72
Mennonite History, Source Materials for. I, II. Harold S. Bender----1.57, 3.60
Mennonite Migration, The Present. Orie O. Miller---- 2.7
Mennonites in North Carolina. Harold S. Bender---- 3.69
Menno Simons Practice Immersion, Did? John Horsch---- 1.54
Migration, The Present Mennonite. Orie O. Miller---- 2.7
Miller, Orie O. The Present Mennonite Migration---- 2.7
Non-Resistance, An Historical Survey of the Position of the Mennonite Church on. I, II. John Horsch----3.15, 4.3
North Carolina, Mennonites in. Harold S. Bender---- 3.69
Outline Bible Studies.—Henry Frost. (Book Review.) Noah Oyer---- 1.75
Oyer, Noah. The Acts of the Apostles.—G. Campbell Morgan. (Book Review.) ---- 1.75
Devotional Leadership.—Gerrit Verkuyl. (Book Review.)---- 1.75
Outline Bible Studies.—Henry Frost. (Book Review.)---- 1.75
Patriotism, False. I, II. Hershberger, Guy F.----1,9. 2.29
Pacifism Among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783. I, II. Wilbur J. Bender----3.23, 4.21
Pennsylvania, Pacifism Among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, and Schwenkfelders of, to 1783. I, II. Wilbur J. Bender----3.23, 4.21
Present Mennonite Migration, The. Orie O. Miller---- 2.7
Problem of Origins, The.—Leander S. Keyser. (Book Review.) Chester K. Lehman---- 2.78
Ready Scriptural Reasons.—George R. Brunk. (Book Review.) S. C. Yoder- 3.68
Review Supplement to the Goshen College Record, Index to, 1926---- 1.76
Research in the Relations between Friends and Mennonites in Europe in the Seventeenth Century. Ernst H. Correll---- 3.73
Schwenkfelders of Pennsylvania to 1783, Pacifism Among the Mennonites, Amish Mennonites, and. I, II. Wilbur J. Bender----3.23, 4.21
Source Materials for Mennonite History. I, II. Harold S. Bender----1.57, 3.60
Steiner, Albert J. The Mennonite Church and the Education of Her Youth-- 3.64
Strasburg Conference of 1568, The Discipline Adopted by the. Harold S. Bender ---- 1.57
Tyrol, Anabaptism in: A Review and Discussion. Ernst H. Correll---- 4.48
Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature, 1727-1927. A Critical Bibliography. I, II, III. Harold S. Bender----1.34, 2.46, 4.60
Two Old Church Letters of 1817 and 1842. Harold S. Bender---- 3.60
Umble, John. Books for Children—Alta Mae Erb. (Book Review.)---- 1.73
Valuable Accession to the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen College, A. Harold S. Bender---- 3.72
Yoder, Edward. A Letter of Conrad Grebel to Andreas Castelberger, May, 1525. (With E. H. Correll and H. S. Bender.)---- 3.41
Yoder, Sanford C. Ready Scriptural Reasons.—George R. Brunk. (Book Review.) ---- 3.68
Youth, The Mennonite Church and the Education of Her. Albert J. Steiner-- 3.64

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

INDEX TO VOLUME II, 1928

American Mennonite Literature, Two Centuries of, 1727-1927. IV, V, VI. Harold S. Bender ---- 16, 125, 207
Anabaptism, Recent Research in the History of Tyrol-Moravian. Johann Loserth ---- 5
Bender, Harold S. Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature 1727-1927. A Critical Bibliography. IV, V, VI ---- 16, 125, 207
Editorial ---- 1, 81, 155, 225
Character-Building, The Modern Church College and. Sanford C. Yoder ---- 275
Conrad Grebel, Nine Letters of. Edward Yoder ---- 229
Correll, Ernst H. The Value of Family History for Mennonite History: With Illustrations from Nafziger Family Material. I, II, III ---- 66, 151, 198
Early Mennonite Sunday Schools. I, II. Silas Hertzler ---- 123, 205
Editorial. Harold S. Bender ---- 1, 81, 155, 225
Family History. The Value of Family History for Mennonite History. Ernst H. Correll. I, II, III ---- 66, 151, 198
French-Speaking Mennonites, The Present Situation of. Pierre Sommer ---- 268
Gemeente-Dag Movement, Remembrance: The First Ten Years of. C. Nijdam ---- 56
Gingerich, Melvin. The World War As Reflected in British Poetry ---- 260
Grebel, Nine Letters of Conrad. Edward Yoder ---- 229
Hershberger, Guy F. The Mennonite Attitude and the Modern Peace Movement as Illustrated in the St. Louis Meeting of the World Alliance ---- 111
What About the Outlawry of War? ---- 159
Hertzler, Silas. Early Mennonite Sunday Schools. I, II ---- 123, 205
Horsch, John. The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1928. A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty. I, II ---- 85, 176
Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1928, The. A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty. I, II. John Horsch ---- 85, 176
John Kephart, 1751-1822, Minister of the Doylestown Mennonite Congregation: A Brief Biography. Calvin Ira Kephart ---- 119
Kephart, Calvin Ira. John Kephart, 1751-1822: A Brief Biography ---- 119
Kephart, John, 1751-1822. A Brief Biography. Calvin Ira Kephart ---- 119
Loserth, Johann. Recent Research in the History of Tyrol-Moravian Anabaptism ---- 5
Latin-American Background, Mennonitism in a. Josephus W. Shank ---- 192
Mennonite Attitude and the Modern Peace Movement, The. Guy F. Hershberger ---- 111
Mennonitism in a Latin-American Background. Josephus W. Shank ---- 192
Modern Church College and Character-Building, The. Sanford C. Yoder ---- 275
Modern Peace Movement, The Mennonite Attitude and the. Guy F. Hershberger ---- 111
Nafziger Family Material, The Value of Family History for Mennonite History: With Illustrations from. Ernst H. Correll. I, II, III ---- 66, 151, 198
Nijdam, C. Remembrance; The First Ten Years of the Gemeente-Dag Movement ---- 56
Nine Letters of Conrad Grebel. Edward Yoder ---- 229
Outlawry of War, What About the? Guy F. Hershberger ---- 159
Present Situation of the French-Speaking Mennonites, The. Pierre Sommer ---- 268
Recent Research in the History of the Tyrol-Moravian Anabaptists. Johann Loserth ---- 5
Remembrance: The First Ten Years of the Gemeente-Dag Movement. C. Nijdam ---- 56
Shank, Josephus W. Mennonitism in a Latin-American Background ---- 192
Sommer, Pierre. The Present Situation of the French-Speaking Mennonites ---- 268
Sunday Schools, Early Mennonite. I, II. Silas Hertzer ---- 123, 205
Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature, 1727-1927. IV, V, VI. Harold S. Bender ---- 16, 125, 207
Tyrol-Moravian Anabaptism, Recent Research in the History of. Johann Loserth ---- 5
Value of Family History for Mennonite History, The: With Illustrations from Nafziger Family Material. I, II, III. Ernst H. Correll ---- 66, 151, 198
What About the Outlawry of War? Guy F. Hershberger ---- 159
World War as Reflected in British Poetry, The. Melvin Gingerich ---- 260
Yoder, Edward. Nine Letters of Conrad Grebel ---- 229
Yoder, Sanford C. The Modern Church College and Character-Building ---- 275